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ABSTRACT

After introductory material by Judith S. Eaton discussing the challenges faced by women in positions of authority at community colleges, this monograph presents eight essays dealing with women in the community college movement. Emily Taylor discusses the backgrounds, attitudes, and characteristics of the small, but growing number of women presidents of community colleges and describes a project undertaken by the American Council on Education to identify talented women administrators. A. Rae Price documents the unequal status of women faculty members and suggests actions for improvement. Lloyd Averill argues that women will best be able to strengthen the humanities by affirming and employing the positive, stereotypically feminine characteristics of the humanist. Carol Eliason examines the critical support role played by women's studies programs in meeting counseling, occupational, and educational needs. Emily B. Kirby examines the role of the community college in helping women overcome stereotypes which block them from non-traditional careers. Joyce A. Smith discusses the role of the trustee, the special responsibilities of women trustees, behaviors that contribute to a new member's success, and the selection of a college president. Linda L. Moore examines the special problems faced by women in management in both the public and private sectors and proposes a method of constructive self-analysis. An ERIC literature review concludes the monograph. (JP)

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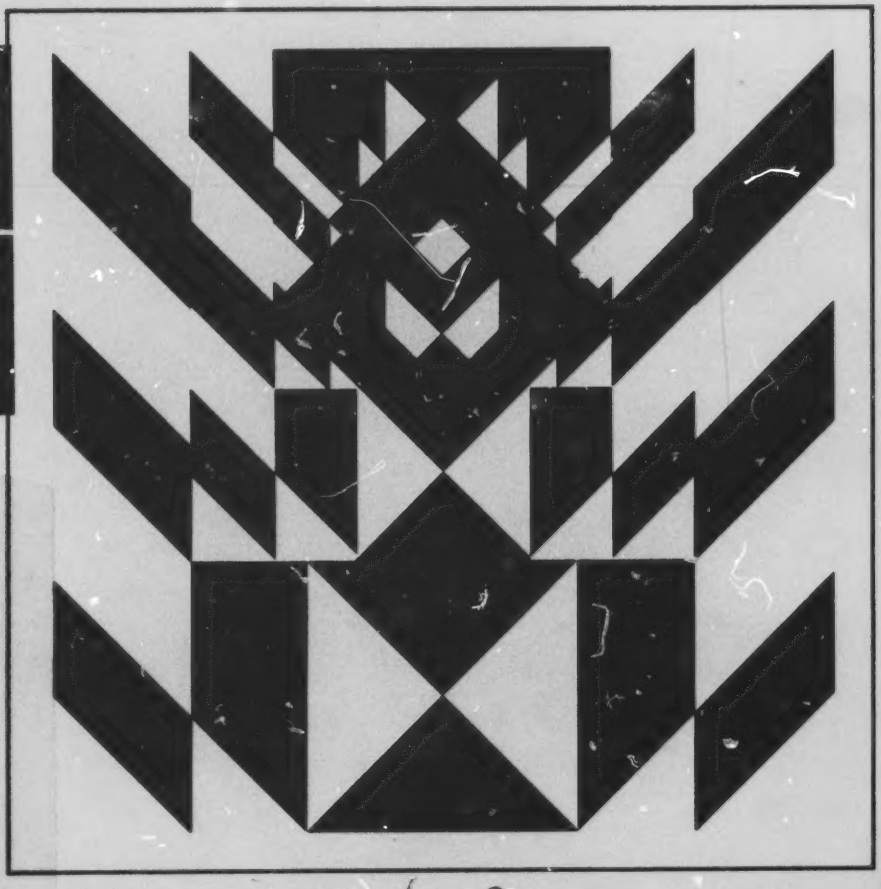
NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

Women in Community Colleges

ERIC

Number 34, 1981



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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

A Quarterly Sourcebook
Arthur M. Cohen, Editor-in-Chief
Florence B. Brawer, Associate Editor
Sponsored by the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges

Number 34, 1981

Women in Community Colleges

Judith S. Eaton
Editor

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New Directions for Community Colleges
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Just as more male elementary school teachers are needed to serve as role models for boys and girls and to emphasize the parental, loving, caring qualities of males, so are more women needed at the college level to serve as role models to women and men at another crucial developmental period—when many students are making important career decisions that will affect them the rest of their lives.

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Editor's Notes

Community colleges throughout the country are currently experiencing a major (and hitherto unprecedented) emphasis on community education and development of "lifelong learning." This trend follows years of successful commitment to a transfer function (the junior college model), an occupational training function (the vocational school model), and a comprehensive community college function (which initiated the emphasis on community service). At the same time, higher education in general and community colleges in particular are serving more women than ever before and thus are involved in the complex social, political, economic, and intellectual changes that make up the women's movement. Community colleges, as the first step in higher education for many involved in this phenomenon, have a heavy responsibility for providing leadership to women making career decisions, changing their life-styles, and seeking economic stability. This responsibility extends to students, staff, and the community. Many women will encounter opportunity, create success or failure, and survive change through contact with community college faculty, administrators, and trustees.

This sourcebook is intended to provide information about and analysis of the impact that the changing role of women in our society is having on the community college movement. Although we realize that change is constant and comprehensive assessment is premature, we nonetheless need to pause and at least describe this significant movement of women, particularly as it influences educational process, policy, philosophy, and result. We have turned to women faculty members, administrators, and trustees for assistance in identifying how our institutions can and will affect the lives, goals, and values of men and women.

While women constitute a significant dimension of our professional and community focus, little has been done thus far to assess comprehensively their present status and plans for the future. Given that the community college has been lauded primarily and appropriately as "democracy's college," with a major emphasis on access for all interested persons, our responsibility extends even beyond our campuses to assisting—indeed, leading—our communities in meaningful and worthwhile social change. Our contributors have alerted us to the following essentials:

1. There is a great deal of opportunity for women—whether faculty members, administrators, or trustees—within our institutions; our colleges are not closed systems.
2. Realization of potential among talented women will provide significant benefit both for students and for the community.
3. The community college perceived as a system has a major responsibility to function in a positive, or at least benign, manner for women undertaking new challenges.
4. The community college is an important source of role models for men and women and thus should give ongoing attention to halting unintended encouragement of only stereotypic opportunities in careers and life-styles.

While eschewing a point of view that would speak only to the advancement of women without giving appropriate attention to other groups and individuals, organizations, and social institutions, there is a need to affirm the efforts of those women who have sought position, influence, and leadership primarily, if not exclusively, heretofore associated with men. It seems likely that even more women in the future will seek to become "situational minorities" (Kanter, 1977); these women will then go on to create an acceptance of new roles and demeanor for many of their professional colleagues.

The community college has an obligation to provide and encourage opportunity for women of talent in every area of leadership and policymaking. This is not to say that affirmative action that is indifferent to quality should be pursued. Rather, we should examine processes and attitudes within our institutions to ensure that we are not preventing the ascendancy of any person of talent.

Contributors to this sourcebook agree that an increased emphasis on communication (networking), greater exposure to various role models, and enhanced self-awareness as they function in organzational systems will assist ambitious and capable women in their quest for academic and executive success. While speaking to limitations and concerns for women in the present, our authors provide valuable suggestions that can aid women as they continue to influence the priorities, development, and direction of community colleges. Their ideas augment the limited leadership and limited vision frequently associated with the early stages of social changes as complex, comprehensive, and sensitive as the women's movement.

Lloyd Averill and Rae Price are especially concerned about the effect of the current role of faculty and curriculum structure on students. Averill urges that women realize the scope of experience and tal-

ent they bring to humanities education. Women can play an effective role in the 1980s in revitalizing and reconceptualizing humanities efforts. While Price points out some serious limitations regarding women faculty and salary, tenure, and appointment issues, she also provides important suggestions for ways in which women can assist each other and their students. Women can eventually offset significant underrepresentation in specific career areas and thus provide additional role models for the community.

Emily Kirby urges us to expand our commitment to nontraditional career training for women and discusses the important role community colleges can play in this area. Carol Eliason examines the critical support role played by women's studies programs around the country. Their combination of curricula, service, and leadership in the articulation of values is assisting millions of women in community colleges as they undertake the development of new skills and talents—many of them for the first time or after years of more traditional life-styles.

Emily Taylor recognizes the small number of women presidents in community colleges today, yet she stresses the progress that has been made toward greater accessibility for women. She provides valuable data concerning the background and experience of community college presidents, as well as information concerning attitudes and expectations. Taylor sees the rapidity with which women have gained community college presidencies as an encouraging sign of an all-important change in attitude toward women executives.

Taylor's optimism is shared by Joyce Smith. Realizing the potentially conflict-ridden task confronting many women board members, Smith suggests a balanced perspective allowing these women to be cognizant of the responsibilities confronting all board members and still remain concerned about unique needs of faculty, students, and administration.

Linda Moore suggests that the concerns of women in the public sector are shared by those in the private sector as well. She urges that all women engage in careful scrutiny of self and of organizational systems. Most importantly, she emphasizes that self-scrutiny should be of a constructive nature. Moore feels that women's awareness that seeking atypical jobs and life-styles may produce feelings of discomfort is important to the development of behavior and attitudes that lead to success.

Careful consideration of the present role of women in our institutions can be enhanced by a theoretical framework or conceptual

foundation by which to address this area. Much statistical information is available and numerous publications are devoted to articles describing the changes experienced by mobile women in our society, yet we lack a methodology for inquiry. The literature examines concerns of women on the move in terms of personal accomplishment and limitations, but few models have been forwarded by which they can guide their efforts at success. While higher education is criticized for its failure to develop a comprehensive theoretical framework for academic administration, it has not even considered approaches for women and minorities as they move into new roles. Models for institutional functioning and management style derive from an essentially masculine base which may or may not address unique concerns for women.

As women shift roles in community college organizational settings, their changes may be generally described in three phases: (1) initiation and discovery, (2) manipulation and recognition, and (3) acknowledgment and authority. In the first phase, as women enter administrative, faculty, or trustee ranks, they set about learning the rules; they probe for meaning and encounter the informal, unwritten power and value structure. Patience, accommodation, listening, and compliance are valued at this stage.

Once mastery of basic processes has occurred, women enter the second phase and are free to engage in the manipulation and recognition-creation devices used by other members of the group they have entered. The process is safest when handled slowly; recognition that threatens the position of others will produce significant adversaries. In this phase, women learn exchange, creative losing, and the value of helping others.

In the third phase, acknowledgment and control occur at a point where one may pull away from the pack, where one has created a platform of authority limited to few. This may occur formally by achieving a highly desirable position recognized as being available to few, or it may occur informally by being acknowledged as strongly influencing those in formal control. All newcomers to a given organization or institution may go through these phases. Women and minorities are simply more conspicuous—in success or in failure.

While Moore points our the importance of the role of the system (organization) for successful women, primary responsibility for achievement rests with the individual. Women at all levels and within all constituencies can make significant progress by approaching their respective goals in a carefully analytic manner. Community colleges may be viewed as dynamic combinations of individual actions functioning

within a given structure buttressed by policies and procedures. Many variables should be taken into account as one proceeds to achieve results. Specific attention can profitably be paid to one's day-to-day behavior (individual style), how the organization operates (institutional style), and organizational (or institutional) value orientation. Rational scrutiny of a system and the persons functioning within that system produced important information from which to make decisions: (1) each individual has a unique manner and set of skills, (2) each organizational structure urges (or requires) a common, shared style, and (3) each area of economic or social organizational endeavor reflects a shared set of values.

Individual success within our colleges depends on an adequate fit among the style of the individual, the current organizational style of an institution, and the prevailing ideology or ethos of a given environment. All institutions place some restraint on individuality and provide little formal process by which to learn of these restraints. Yet, these limits constitute important conformity demands of a workplace. Individuals face an initiation and "passage" through the learning process of these restraints. Women have the additional task of interpreting restraints created and maintained primarily by men. Given that they must engage more actively in inference making, women are more likely than men to misinterpret restraints or respond inappropriately to them. An institutional style may be inferred from the processes and structures that make up a college or a campus; it is frequently reflective of the management style and orientation of a chief executive officer. Finally, the value system in which an institution is functioning will reflect itself in the organizational structure, statement of purpose, and the goals to which an institution has dedicated itself.

When becoming part of an institution, a first task is blending; a second task is standing out. Women must identify the goals they are seeking to fulfill and determine a manner by which to obtain acceptable results. This requires reflecting the structure and ethos of the institution, identifying sources of power and using them, and, if possible, identifying a sponsor or those supportive of one's goals. Women can gain much from effective and tasteful self-marketing.

Women moving into hitherto unexplored areas as students, faculty members, or administrators will confront the organization as a social institution carrying out many of society's required tasks. While an organzation adjusting to new members will reflect some strain, additional organizational discord is produced by the shifting of women into positions usually held by men—in the automotive labs, the aca-

demic senates, executive positions, or boardrooms. Women will be tested (as men are) to see if they produce disharmony. They will be even more carefully scrutinized as the organization attempts to ensure that women's differences in appearance and behavior do not produce dissonnance or discomfort.

Soldwedel (1979) has pointed out that top leaders in higher education administration appear to be drawn from three groups:

- *Recognized Authorities:* those who have been able to achieve because of their scholarship contributions and/or their special expertise
- *Personalities:* those who rise because they have combined skill and competence with charm and persuasiveness
- *Performers:* those who are competent players, willing to take on nearly any task and to see it through to completion.

Even more importantly, few administrators (male or female) are discovered by accident. They make their abilities known; they "showcase" their talents; they are positive about themselves in appearance and action. "Personalities" are likely to be particularly successful. Soldwedel's input may be expanded to include many attempts at mobility within professional constituencies at our community colleges. At some point, the challenge of opportunity and the characteristics needed to successfully respond to that challenge should mesh. Yet, if women are effectively mobile and achieve positions of power and authority, there is limited likelihood that they will receive the same acknowledgment of accomplishment as men. Somehow, a male in the same position would appear more powerful and important. Also, the position will be considered less powerful and important if occupied by a woman, and crucial corridors of power (which depend on this acknowledgment) are not available to women.

A first step toward gaining this acknowledgment is to recognize the likelihood that it will be denied. A second major step is to realize that rationality, competence, and even integrity may have limited value in the arena of success. Acknowledgment of position and authority also rests on variables such as showmanship, personal contacts, creating need, creating want, and control of information. Not only do women fight harder to obtain positions, they also engage in a major struggle for acknowledgment of accomplishment and thus dissipate their energy. The success of women in community colleges rests in part upon a capacity to endure analysis, loneliness, and change. As jobs and life-styles change, we see a fundamental and major alteration of female self-per-

ception and action. The "majority minority" is altering our social structure. Paradigms, climates of opinion, and methods of practice are changing. Compelling demonstration of successful differentness by some women will aid in producing an environment of success for all women.

Community colleges, in their brief history, have reflected a mastery of flexibility and change. We have reason to believe that the colleges of tomorrow will

- have more students
- have more women and minority students
- have older students
- be partnership agencies in a rapidly changing society that requires short-term, effective educational intervention for specific needs
- place increased emphasis on convenience and access (colleges without walls, lifelong learning institutions, weekend colleges)
- place less emphasis on degrees and credits because fewer people will want them.

Our colleges will grapple with the difficulties of a social environment characterized by ongoing value fragmentation, economic uncertainty, and political confusion. We will feel the impact of greater fiscal control that extends beyond the local level to state, regional, and federal domination. We will become increasingly bureaucratic. We will face the challenge of four-year institutions as they shift to increasingly popular vocational programming and continuing education. We will meet the need for developmental education created by unresolved fiscal and political problems in public education. Our communities will look to us for leadership in values, for articulation of some vision for the future, and for assistance in individual and group survival. If possible, our institutions will become even more complex and diverse, with even stronger ties to our communities.

We cannot isolate the role and activities of women in these dynamic, complicated structures of the future. Women, like men, will need to be aware that they not only must cope with change but also should influence its nature and direction. They will need to build constituencies of men and women in an effort to create new expectations and altered attitudes. As our society continues to refine its commitment to openness, more and more women will find opportunities available throughout our community college structures. A society that grows to place less emphasis on sexism will eventually acknowledge the effec-

tiveness of women and men in all areas of endeavor. Community colleges are a measure of the vitality of our society and a commitment to its future.

Judith S. Eaton
Editor

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No type of postsecondary institution has exceeded the community colleges' 200 percent gain in women presidents during the past five years, and their ranks will continue to grow in the decades ahead.

Women Community College Presidents

Emily Taylor

In 1975, the Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education (ACE), began accumulating and publishing annually a record of the number of women chief executive officers in accredited American colleges and universities. Included in each yearly table is an account of the composition of the student body by gender and of the total enrollment of the institutions headed by women. In December 1975, women presidents numbered 148; by December 1979, the count had risen to 204.

More significant than the actual numbers is the decreased interval between appointments. For example, in 1977 the number of women chief executives rose by one, on the average, every six months; in 1978 that number rose by one almost every month, and in 1979 every two weeks. In 1980 the interval between appointments continued to narrow. Actually, more women received appointments than these figures indicate, because women sometimes replaced other women as presidents. Even though such replacements do not increase the numbers of women leaders, they are nonetheless significant as evidence of the selection process opening to women. The numbers may further indi-

cate that successful women presidents have reduced the dedication of decision makers to the myth that women educators make poor chief administrators.

Progress of Women Administrators

It is popular in some circles to decry the lack of progress of women in gaining powerful executive positions in education, business, government, or industry. The term "only" appears before most numbers or percentages dealing with women in executive offices. Of course, the numbers are small, but they represent significant progress when viewed from the perspective of the quite recent past. For example, the eighteen women who in 1980 headed public four-year colleges and universities are six times the three who held similar positions in 1976. As Shavlik (1980) put the matter, "Certainly, the gains are small. On the other hand, they have been steady, and the idea that women can lead institutions is much more accepted. The slowness of the process reflects the profoundness of the change that has to take place in people's thinking to see women as capable of heading up major institutions in our society" (p. 9). After all, we are still treated at least once every four years to one more poll of the public as to women's ability to handle the position of president, or even vice-president, of the United States. The fact that such questions are still seen as legitimate subjects of inquiry indicates how much prejudice remains. We may expect that for years to come the appointment of women to college presidencies will be a one-by-one matter and that each one who makes it to the president's office will be considered by trustees, faculty, staff, alumni, and communities to be on trial to see if she can prove her ability to do the job. Since many women are highly qualified by education, training, experience, and interest to assume any vacant presidency, we can use as a rough measure of equity the day that half the new appointees to presidencies are women.

In terms of numbers, no type of postsecondary institution has exceeded the community colleges' 200 percent gain in women presidents during the past five years. Although this percentage represents an increase of "only" eleven to thirty-three, it symbolizes an enormous positive change in the attitudes of both men and women toward women's leadership and in the actions of decision makers who influence the selection of presidents.

In addition, fewer horror stories are now being told about candidates' being asked improper questions. However, individual candi-

dates subjected to such questions as: "How will you take care of your children? What does your husband think about your work? Will entertaining create an embarrassing situation? Do you really think a woman can do this job?" are likely to be unimpressed with generalizations about improvements in this matter. In fact, many believe that it is not attitudes or behaviors that have changed but the degree of sophistication of search committees and interviewers as to legal and ethical requirements. No doubt there are elements of truth on both sides.

Despite evidence of still-existing individual and group biases, increasing acceptance of women as chief administrators in all kinds of colleges is a reality. It is also important to note that eight community college women presidents are members of racial or ethnic minorities.

Study of Women Community College Presidents

In a study by the Office of Women in Higher Education of the ACE, most of the community college women presidents appointed in 1979 were interviewed and also completed an extensive schedule providing professional and personal data and information on their presidencies and on their attitudes and beliefs. Further, many have offered advice to other women who aspire to such positions. In addition to those appointed in 1979, many other women presidents have been interviewed and have also contributed written information.

No one president can symbolize women presidents of community colleges. However, it is interesting to review some facts about women presidents of community colleges and look at some examples of their backgrounds, their thoughts, and their attitudes and beliefs. One of the problems of interpreting descriptions of a relatively small and select group is that times, tastes, and situations change—sometimes rapidly. It would be unwise for anyone who aspires to a presidency to assume that following the particular patterns of another women who is already a president constitutes a prescription for success. The same course of study, the same first position, even the same mentor may lead to quite different results.

Deciding to Accept the Presidency. Women presidents cited both positive and negative factors that influenced their interest in a presidency. Positive factors mentioned by practically all participants in the study were ambition to be the top campus administrator and the challenges or opportunities the top position provides. Power, financial advantage, support from colleagues, and desire to influence education, use ability, or help a particular college were factors mentioned not

more than twice. Negative factors included dissatisfaction with salary, concern for a failing institution, a feeling on the part of one woman that she might as well try since no one expects a woman to succeed, and the desire of another woman to prove to male colleagues that she could succeed.

Planning for and Securing a Presidency. Most women presidents planned two to five years prior to securing a presidency. Some said they planned for a longer time, and a minority stated that consideration for a presidency was unexpected. Although the majority were nominated, several successful candidates applied for their presidencies. Interestingly, all respondents replaced male presidents.

Those who evaluated the women presidents as candidates were believed to be most concerned about administrative and interpersonal skills. These skills were found by the presidents to be most important to them in executing their presidencies. In addition, a very large proportion spoke of the need for fund-raising ability, although not one felt that the board or selection committee recognized this ability as being particularly important. The presidents rated political acuity much higher than they believed evaluators did. Neither presidents nor those who hired them rated scholarship among the top qualities needed.

Satisfactions and Frustrations. More presidents described their presidencies as highly satisfactory than otherwise. Only one woman indicated that her presidency was somewhat frustrating without also mentioning some level of satisfaction; one would not expect such a presidency to be long maintained. Since this same president expects to assume similar responsibilities at another institution within the next few years, we may assume that her frustration is with a particular presidency rather than with all presidencies.

Many areas of satisfaction were recorded. The most frequently mentioned may be categorized as those that deal with the self and those that concern others in the institution: faculty, students, staff, and board. Examples of areas dealing with the self include being able to provide educational leadership, master politics, define the institution's future or turn it around, just be in charge or have total responsibility, and have greater impact on the institution. Examples of areas that concern others in the institution include working as a part of a management team, having good relationships with faculty and students and having the confidence of the board, and getting individuals and groups with different agendas to work together. There were also numerous references to positive community relationships and to pride in the institutions the women presidents lead.

The presidents' greatest frustrations were primarily matters of inadequate financing and inability to get needed things done, changed, or improved—in other words, the difficulty of overcoming resistance. Troubles with bureaucracy, bureaucrats, and dominating superiors made up a fair share of reported frustrations. Personal leadership inadequacies, stress, and problems with time also were mentioned frequently.

Meetings were on everyone's list of most time-consuming aspects of the presidency and on practically no one's list of the most important aspects of the position. It seems safe to assume, however, that the presence of the chief executive at many meetings would rate high among the priorities of others in the institution and in the community. People contacts—mediating, developing, and responding to them—rated high as being both time-consuming and important. Paperwork, about which there were many complaints, was not mentioned by anyone as being important. Since paperwork, including both reading and writing, is indeed essential, the well-known frustrations of paper inundation may obscure the importance to success of effective written communication.

Assistance in Securing the Presidency. All women community college presidents reported that they credited one person with having had special influence or having offered support in the course of their professional careers. About half mentioned both men and women mentors; the other half mentioned men only. None stated that only women had influenced them or offered special support.

In addition to the influence or mentorship of one special person, most women recognized a number of colleagues and acquaintances (significant others) who had identified their leadership potential and urged them to seek positions of greater responsibility and leadership. General impressions drawn from the data in this area indicate that a complex of persons and factors influence the course of any career in higher education. Being able to recognize the more subtle kinds of support and encouragement may be an essential characteristic of successful leaders.

Recent years have seen the recognition of both the informal and the formal roles others can play in the promotion of one's career. In fact, the creation of "networks" to purposefully establish this kind of person-to-person assistance has been growing at a very rapid rate.

Academic Preparation and Publications. Most respondents in the ACE study have completed a doctorate, the most common major field being an area of education or administration. Individual presi-

dents come from a wide variety of other disciplines. Although a few have never attended a management training program, the majority have gone to at least one, most of which were shorter than a week in duration. Very few have held an internship of any kind.

Practically all community college women presidents arrived at their presidencies with significant experience in community colleges. A number started their professional careers in other types of colleges and universities. Along the way, however, they moved into community college positions. Very few presidents ever attended a community college as students. An interesting exception is that one woman is the president of the same community college she attended.

Presidents appointed during the past five years have varied professional backgrounds. Their third positions before the presidency include teaching positions in colleges or universities and a wide variety of student personnel positions, such as director of student activities, director of counseling, director of special programs, admissions counselor, and dean of students. Their second positions prior to the presidency, except for a few deans of students, moved them toward academic administration in such positions as associate academic dean, associate professor, director of institutional research, and dean of continuing education. The final positions these women held before the presidency were heavily weighted toward the academic, such as vice-president for instruction, dean of instructional services, vice-president for academic affairs, director of a college, and dean of the faculty. In all cases there were exceptions, but the general trends are clear. A number of women also served essentially as assistant to the president, although the title itself is uncommon in the experience of women community college presidents.

Most presidents published a few articles or papers prior to the presidency; very few have published anything during the presidency. The time-consuming nature of the top position makes it difficult to find time for writing without neglecting other duties and personal and professional obligations. Community college presidents report that they do very little research. They do engage in consulting activities, give numerous speeches, attend many professional conferences and meetings, and spend some time in training sessions for self-improvement.

Attitudes and Beliefs. Women community college presidents were asked about factors they saw as obstacles to the advancement of women administrators. It is well known that certain stereotypical attitudes—attitudes held both by men and by women themselves—influence the professional career development of women.

The responses of women presidents indicated that five factors were seen as still pervasive limitations on women's career advancement: (1) women's marital responsibilities interfere with their career advancement, (2) women's maternal responsibilities also interfere, (3) women are still not plugged in to the informal networks through which higher-level appointments are made, (4) women are more likely to regard themselves as assistants or helpers than as managers or executives, and (5) men, who primarily control the avenues to advancement, still continue to give preference to other men for appointments to top posts.

These five factors were agreed to by two-thirds to over four-fifths of the women community college presidents participating in the study. In addition, a bare majority thought that most women prefer supportive positions to leadership positions.

On the other hand, some widely held attitudes were rejected by women leaders. For example, not one woman accepted the idea that most women are too emotional or subjective in their judgments to perform as effectively as men in top administrative posts. Fewer than one out of five thought that women felt uncomfortable working for women administrators, although almost half believed that this situation is still uncomfortable for men. None believed that the demands of ethnic minority groups who are striving for recognition and promotion will take precedence over those of women. Presidents who are themselves members of minority groups concurred with other women leaders on this point.

Not more than one in five presidents thought that women are less willing than men to obtain the training necessary for top posts; only a third believed that women prefer teaching to administration; fewer than half thought that women are not aggressive enough for top positions or that women will not work to help each other the way men do. As might be expected, women leaders in community colleges rejected many myths about themselves and about other women; at the same time, they were still realistic regarding some of the obstacles to advancement that remain in our society.

The opinions of women presidents on a variety of other subjects are interesting and instructive. Almost all the respondents in this study recognized that they have been more successful than most women with comparable training and experience. For that matter, a large percentage believed that they have been more successful than similarly trained men. Since all these women are chief executive officers of a campus, these truths would seem self-evident. However, very few women are

heads of multi-campus institutions or of systems, and a great majority of the most prestigious institutions are still headed by men.

Women presidents were not too modest to admit that they are influential. They considered themselves to be politically moderate or liberal, only about one-third classifying themselves as politically conservative. The majority would not choose a different academic discipline if they were beginning again. They all but universally rejected the idea that they have been given privileges or preferences on the basis of their sex or that the claims of discriminatory practices against women students in higher education have been exaggerated.

Advice on Leadership. In response to the question of what advice they would give to women aspiring to such a position, women college presidents offered comments that demonstrate the insight, imagination, and strength of the women executives. These comments may be divided into three categories: knowledge needed, necessary personal attributes, and desirable professional attitudes.

In regard to knowledge needed, professional preparation for the presidency was considered very important by everyone. Preparation meant academic training, management training—including budgeting and financial management—and teaching experience. Knowledge of the history, mission, and organization of the community college—coupled with a highly developed political acumen—was considered essential for serving effectively as a chief executive. Special skills cited as contributing to successful leadership were expertise in public speaking; practiced ability to listen; a trained eye for the selection, development, and promotion of personnel; and an interest in acquiring new knowledge and encouraging others to do the same.

Many fine personal attributes were mentioned as necessary by the women presidents. Particular attributes that seemed to be mentioned consistently were good judgment, recognition of the importance of a sense of humor, inner strength and emotional stability, a high energy level, and intelligence.

Professional attitudes considered desirable for effective leadership centered around a positive belief in self and others. Particularly mentioned was the need for women to have a strongly developed sense of self-worth as women and as professionals, to know and understand that women can be and are effective leaders. As one president put it, "Do not believe that men know more, can do more, or have better connections!"

Enjoying work and helping colleagues do the same were consid-

ered highly desirable approaches to the demands of leadership. This concept appeared to be tied interestingly to two ideas: appreciating the current position and knowing when to move on.

Future Professional Plans. Women presidents are divided about equally into those who plan to remain in their present jobs until retirement and those who hope to assume similar responsibilities at another institution. Most of the latter group spoke of moving on to larger or more prestigious schools or systems; no one seemed to be planning a return to lesser administrative positions or to the faculty, nor were women presidents thinking of leaving higher education for positions elsewhere.

Asked what might influence them to seek or accept another position, the majority of women presidents mentioned three factors (other than being asked to resign): higher salary, better location, or an offer from a college with more prestige, more challenge, more stable funding, or more interesting programs. Individually, presidents mentioned the possibility of a college's closing, no longer being needed, the death of a spouse, or an offer from a senior college.

Personal Data. Women presidents of community colleges ranged in age from the thirties to the sixties at the time of their appointments. Their marital status included never married, first marriage, divorced, remarried, separated, and widowed. Some had children, in school or grown up. Those who were married had spouses who, for the most part, were in the professions or in business: engineers, college professors, elementary school principals, businessmen. They came primarily from small families: very few had more than one or two siblings, and many had none. They were first children, middle children, last children, only children. Their fathers were skilled laborers, businessmen, professionals, or farmers. About half of their fathers had had some college training. Their mothers were teachers, secretaries, musicians, telephone operators, service workers, models, and housewives, and most of them had had less education than their husbands. Those presidents who were married, mostly to college graduates, felt they had improved their social class standing. They came, in order of frequency, from large cities, small towns, small cities, suburbs, and farms. By their own definitions, the majority had risen in social-class standing from youth through age thirty to the present time.

In short, the ACE survey found that women college presidents were quite typical of professional women in general, and efforts to use measures of central tendency in describing their personal backgrounds would strain the truth.

Strategies for Advancement

Since 1977, the ACE's Office of Women in Higher Education has been engaged in a program to identify and promote talented women to head our institutions of higher education. To this end, the office developed (with the financial support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the ACE) a state-based, nationally coordinated program designed to foster women's leadership. The major questions addressed by the program are: How can women who possess the qualities that characterize effective academic leadership be identified? How can they then be effectively brought into the selection process, so that large numbers are thoroughly evaluated and seriously considered for available administrative positions? And how, recognizing the inherent limitations and limited success of affirmative action strategies currently in use, can we more effectively move women into professional networks?

The importance of using professional and social networks to effect social change is now well established and accepted by policymakers and social scientists alike. The ACE was one of the first national groups to initiate formal network activities. The Office of Women in Higher Education began the National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration in an effort to develop state-based networks of leaders in higher education who were interested in developing a firm system of equal opportunity.

The program began in the twelve states with the largest number of institutions and students and was expanded by 1979 to forty-seven states, New York City, Washington, D.C., and Puerto Rico. In 1980 the program will be operating in all fifty states. The Office of Women in Higher Education is concentrating on strengthening the state and national networks that have been started and continuing to identify ways in which interactions among established educational leaders and emerging women leaders can be fostered.

The basic organizational plan for the National Identification Program includes (1) selection of state coordinators who hold high-level administrative posts, (2) appointment of state planning committees composed of representatives of all higher education systems within the state, (3) formation of state panels of men and women who influence and shape state educational policy, (4) identification of women administrators within each state, (5) development of programs to promote their advancement, (6) appointment of a national panel of prominent educators to enhance the system of state networks, (7) holding of ACE

national forums to bring together established and emerging educational leaders to discuss critical issues related to leadership and management in higher education, and (8) continuous assistance to forum participants, including nominations and recommendations as appropriate.

National forums are a major component of the ACE Office of Women in Higher Education's National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration. The two-day forums, held in various locations throughout the country, provide an opportunity to put talented women in contact with one another and with high-level men administrators. The forums promote the aim of the National Identification Program to increase the number of women who hold major decision-making positions in higher education.

In the historical absence of arenas in which high-level men and women administrators can come together to discuss issues of common concern in educational policy and governance, the national forums offer a unique opportunity for the exploration of issues with the assurance that women will be included in the process. The valuable contacts made at national forums represent an important step in a personalized identification process. Following the forums, the contacts made there continue in other modes: mentorships and other sponsoring activities, personal consultations, nominations, and recommendations for positions and for membership on advisory boards, councils, and committees. Increased professional activity, higher levels of professional involvement, and visibility for women administrators are fostered through these means.

Twenty women administrators, identified through the National Identification Program as emerging educational leaders, are selected for each forum. Women may either apply directly or be nominated by their institutions, state panelists, planning committee members, state coordinators, or others. Also invited to each forum are approximately ten national panelists—prominent men and women who influence higher education.

ACE national forums play a critical role in establishing a network of men and women interested in identifying promising women administrators and providing them with the informal supports so necessary for their advancement. Women leaders in community colleges have been involved in every level of the program, from representation on every state planning committee to participation in the ACE national forums. One special state forum was held in Florida for the identified women in community colleges and the current leadership.

Subsequently, the League for Innovation in the Community Colleges cosponsored with the Office of Women in Higher Education a national forum especially for women interested in major leadership roles in the League institutions, and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges cosponsored in 1980 another special forum for emerging and established leaders in community colleges. Through these special forums and through the participation in other forums of women with community college experience, a large number of highly qualified women leaders have been identified and made a part of ongoing valuable professional networks.

Conclusion

Many talented women of diverse and rich backgrounds are presently serving as chief executive officers of community colleges in the United States. Many more such women are waiting in the wings to enter the competition for the many vacancies that are bound to occur at these levels over the next few years. The challenge before us is to make certain that superior women are among those chosen to perform the important leadership roles in the community colleges of the future.

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More women are needed at the college level to serve as role models to women and men at a crucial stage of their development—when many students are making career decisions that will affect the rest of their lives.

Women of the Faculty

A. Rae Price

The female community college teacher may have one of the best jobs on the market. She has the prestige of teaching at the college level unfettered by the customary demands of research and writing. She has power in the classroom and, usually, autonomy in her curriculum planning. She often has some choice in hours of work, plus long vacations and, if she can afford it, all summer off. She has the comfort of a job long recognized as "proper" for women, while working in postsecondary teaching, a field traditionally reserved for men.

On the other hand, she carries little weight in the balance of academic power. More women faculty teach in two-year and in four-year institutions than in universities; however, even here their numbers are disproportionately small, encompassing only 29.2 percent of tenured faculty and 38.7 percent of untenured faculty. In higher education, according to Hornig (1980), they are "underpaid by all institutions, in all fields, and at all ranks, and overloaded with introductory courses" (p. 123).

In a way, the faculty woman is "stuck." She may like her work, but she may also feel that she is not being treated fairly. She is alittle like medieval lackeys who were moved from the field to the house. While profiting from better food and softer beds, they still could become uncom-

fortably aware of having little control over their lives. Only with great difficulty could they move into positions of greater responsibility and power.

Unlike most medieval lackeys, however, who rarely sought higher positions, many female community college teachers are questioning their current niches. Although some are undoubtedly satisfied with their pay, their freedoms, and the demands placed on them—in other words, the status quo—others want to see more women influencing the directions of higher education.

Among the women seemingly satisfied with the status quo are those who have a second income from outside business ventures, investments, or a spouse. Others, with or without families, simply like the flexible hours and long vacations, as well as the opportunity to do some of their work at home, which is a possibility for many college teachers.

Others, no doubt, have already exceeded their professional expectations and are content to drift on placid waters. One study of nearly 1,000 Canadian university students (Sutherland, 1978) suggests this by its title alone: "The Unambitious Female: Women's Low Professional Aspirations." Tresemer (1976) reports other studies indicating that women do not expect to succeed. Some women might be quite uncomfortable receiving or even asking for equal status with men.

Obviously, then, the push for change must come from those female faculty who want to see more women influencing the direction of higher education, holding positions of power, and acting as role models for other women.

Why Change Status?

It is important that the status of women faculty in community colleges be changed because women faculty members can serve as significant agents for important social changes toward equality. Probably more than female administrators, women in the classroom can increase both male and female students' awareness of women's abilities to be clear, logical, and decisive. Faculty members have far more contact with students than do administrators. Insofar as female faculty members are effective teachers, they can alter discriminatory practices and strengthen positive attitudes of students toward females' roles.

What constitutes effective teaching is, of course, a subject of debate. Some studies indicate that knowledge of subject matter is the most important quality' others find that empathy for students is most important. And most available research deals with assessing teaching

ability at four-year rather than at two-year institutions. There is some indication that students in their freshman and sophomore years emphasize different qualities in their professors than they do in their junior and senior years. At the beginning they want caring, empathetic instructors, which are qualities that women supposedly have. Later, knowledge of subject matter and preparedness take priority.

It would seem that women are especially fit to teach in community colleges. It would be presumptuous, however, to assert that female faculty in community colleges teach more effectively than do males, despite the findings of one study (South and others, 1975) that, among 12,396 community college students in Pennsylvania, female teachers were perceived as being more effective than their male counterparts. Summarizing major findings in a nationwide survey, one researcher (Brawer, 1977) found that the differences between instructors were attributable more to individual than to sexual differences.

The numbers of male and female instructors should be balanced throughout the curriculum and in all areas. Just as more male elementary school teachers are needed to serve as role models for boys and girls and to emphasize the parental, loving, caring qualities of males, so are more female teachers needed at the college level to serve as role models for female and male students at another crucial stage of their development—when many students are making important career decisions that will affect the rest of their lives. Knowing impressive female faculty members in biology, math, data processing, writing courses, or any other area can lead women students into those areas and help male students accept women in all areas.

Inequality

Women should be equal not only in numbers but also in treatment at community colleges. At present, this is not the case. Discriminatory practices exist in all areas; the nine described here are merely some of the points that contribute to women's unequal status in community colleges.

1. *Women are underrepresented in science and in the vocational-technical faculties.* In 1975–76 women comprised 10.8 percent of the math faculties and 13.3 percent of the chemistry doctoral faculties in U.S. colleges and universities. According to one report (Roark, 1979), women have roughly equal salaries in the lower ranks of science faculties. However, women fare poorly as they try to move up the ranks. Further, women faculty dominate the traditionally female vocational subjects; they are

all but absent, however, in other vocational programs—agricultural, industrial, technical, and trade.

The efforts of the federal government to legislate the elimination of sexism are well known to educators. Attempts are being made to correct sexist education at all levels, from preschool through doctoral degree programs. However, nothing is more difficult than changing attitudes based on prejudice. Young girls and boys can be led to think in nonsexist ways about job choices—eventually. Men and women in community colleges can be assisted in pursuing a wider variety of careers by seeing women faculty well represented in all disciplines.

2. *Women are concentrated in the lower-paying jobs.* Women comprised a little over one-fourth of all instructional faculty in 1977–78, and they tend to be concentrated more in two-year and four-year colleges than in universities. On the average, they also are younger, more recently trained, and in more junior positions than are their male colleagues. They therefore may be the first to go as retrenchment continues.

The Modern Language Assocation *Newsletter* (1980, p. 3) reports that "almost five times as many women as men are unemployed [in foreign languages] and seeking teaching positions in specific cities or areas." Married women tend to follow their husbands, not the other way around. Thus, they must often seek jobs in specific cities or areas.

Many community colleges do not discriminate among assistant, associate, and full professor, but instead have only one rank of instructor. Even here, women do not fare well in comparison with men on salary schedules. They tend to be newer, with fewer graduate degrees; further, because of family commitments, many cannot or do not choose to work the overtime and summer schedules that could increase their salaries.

3. *Women are discriminated against in pension plans.* Based on the fact that the average woman lives longer than does the average man, women have been the recipients of lower monthly pension benefits in many areas. Based on the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Department of Labor has ruled this illegal. However, change takes place slowly and strong action has been delayed.

4. *Women perceive themselves as being less able than men to move into administrative positions.* Administrators in higher education usually come from the ranks of teaching. However, as reported in one study of female vocational faculty members (King, 1974, p. 10), "administrators and women faculty agreed that women were not as likely to achieve positions of leadership as men, although the administrators perceived

more opportunity for women than the women themselves did." Stated perceptions and actual opportunities for advancement may not always be identical, but the studies cited earlier (Sutherland, 1978; Tresemer, 1976) tend to support the perception. If women, for whatever reasons, do not see themselves as moving into administrative positions, then they may not ask for the tasks that would move them in that direction: chairing committees, heading departments, serving on senates, and so forth. They therefore are not sufficiently represented among faculty leaders to have the impact on decision making that women should have.

5. *Women's studies programs, a key development in women's equality, have frequently had to fight for survival.* Most of the women's studies programs on two-year campuses are funded on "soft" monies from federal and state grants. (For details on the present state of women's studies programs and other services to women, see Carol Eliason's chapter in this volume.)

6. *Textbooks at the college level are frequently sexist—in favor of males.* Lionel Ruby's *The Art of Making Sense* (1968), a "logic" text, has many examples of logical and illogical thinking. In no instance is the logical thinker a female; in no instance is the illogical thinker a male. (In other ways, the book is sound and useful.) More generally, Jewell Elizabeth Stindt's dissertation, "Sex Biases and Gender Role Stereotypes in Postsecondary Textbooks" (1977), concludes that women are not treated equally in postsecondary textbooks. Since this generalization is valid throughout kindergarten through twelfth-grade textbooks, many faculty members, both male and female, fail to see the pattern and its damaging effects; they have lived with it too long.

7. *More women than men hold part-time faculty positions; part-time positions rarely provide professional status or benefit.* Nationwide, approximately half of all faculty members are part-time, and in some instances the percentage is much higher. Further, more part-time faculty members are female than male. This situation seems to be getting worse, not better. The Modern Language Association (1979) reports that in 1978–79 nearly twice as many women as men accepted part-time teaching jobs. In some areas, faculty are losing their full-time positions and then being hired back as part-timers. This practice means a loss both for individuals and for institutions, as part-time faculty members rarely participate in campus activities and are rarely included in collective bargaining. They are really the marginal persons of academic employment policy.

8. *Women who are married often carry the major responsiblity for running the home.* The American women who is married and employed has

two jobs, while the employed male generally has one. Rarely are household responsibilities shared equally. However, there is some evidence that marriage is not a barrier to an educational career, either in administration or in teaching. In one study comparing the scholarly production of women academics (Hamovitch and Morgenstern, 1977), no evidence was found that childrearing decreased the possibility of being in the high-status group of scholarly production. It should be noted, however, that if a woman wishes to attain higher goals as an academician while being a wife and mother, she often must do so with considerable dual-role stress; such is not the case for most men.

9. *Women generally bear the burden of their sexuality more than men do theirs.* It still seems to be a man's world when it comes to sexual behavior, whether talked about or acted upon. But, happily, this attitude seems to be changing. One exception regarding discrimination is homosexuality; that is, a woman homosexual faculty member is treated no differently than is a man homosexual faculty member. Women, however, still suffer more discrimination outside of the classroom. This may take the form of a woman feeling more victimized than a man under similar circumstances. For example, a woman faculty member falsely accused of acting out sexually may suffer more either in the minds of her peers or in her own mind than would a man who is so spoken of. The man, indeed, may feel that his reputation is enhanced.

These nine examples of women's unequal status at community colleges exist, of course, against a background of discrimination. Women are underrepresented in positions of power across the land: in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of government, in business and industry, and in education. It is only as smaller injustices are corrected, such as the nine above, that the larger picture will change to one of equality for all.

Some changes in the social structure are already taking place—90,000 women marched for the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois; 2,000 women met in Indiana to strengthen women's studies programs; West Point graduated 60 women cadets; more women mayors have appeared; and an occasional female governor has been elected. But women still are not where they should be. Women have made few gains in education: Only 8 percent of the full professors in this country are women; there are more male presidents of women's colleges than there were ten years ago; 79 percent of all trustees are men. Yet more than half of the students in higher education are female, and the number of mature women entering higher education is expected to increase more than 60 percent between 1978 and 1983.

What Can Be Done?

How can women faculty members get equal treatment in higher education? It is at community colleges that change toward more equal treatment of women faculty can most swiftly and effectively take place. Although women are represented only in token numbers in the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges and in leadership roles at community colleges, women on faculties at community colleges are in slightly better positions than are women in four-year colleges and universities, because most two-year colleges do not have a rigid hierarchical professorial series. It is easy to place the blame for women's unequal role on the government, on the public, or on administration. However, according to Hornig (1980), "It is faculty members who hold power and exercise leadership in autonomous faculties who are remiss in addressing issues of equity in higher education" (p. 125).

Of course, not all faculties are "autonomous." Further, many college faculties are dominated by males. Women then must ask for equal time and serve on senate, budget, curriculum, administrative selection, and other important committees—in equal numbers with men. Women faculty must press for fair treatment and recognition of part-time teachers, the majority of whom are women.

Women must speak out to ensure that the growing numbers of mature women on campuses are treated fairly. The colleges need these women and these women need community colleges. A woman faculty member can be instrumental in raising awareness of the needs of the mature woman student. In doing so, she raises the sensitivity of the faculty toward women's presence in general.

Women must strengthen their ties with each other. Through national and local organizations, they must get to know one another and to use that knowledge to increase their skills in making demands and showing that they expect success. The Women's Caucus of the Modern Languages, the Teaching of English in the Two-Year College organization, and Women in Science are just some of the professional groups through which women can get to know each other. The American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges is bringing women together at the national, regional, and local levels. It is only as women take it upon themselves to participate actively in these groups that they will be aided by them. These stronger social networks of women faculty are often recommended as strategies for change. It is only as women faculty act on the recommendations that change will continue to take place.

Finally, in strengthening their ties with each other, women must also be honest with each other. They must give praise for jobs well done. And they must give that praise not only to the women who performed the tasks but to their colleagues and supervisors as well. They must record the praise through memoranda, letters, and news releases. Women's competencies too often go unnoticed; it is up to women to change that.

Conversely, women must assist one another in troublesome areas. Being a leader means not only setting oneself up as a model but also, more overtly, directing others in those areas where they need help. Many women do this very skillfully in the classroom. They can also assist one another outside the classroom: sharing ideas for teaching effectiveness, pointing out strategies for bringing about change among their male colleagues, and even—at times of low emotional stress—making specific recommendations regarding areas where behaviors may be seen as aversive. (This latter task is more easily accomplished, of course, when female colleagues ask for help in changing aversive behavior.)

Women's Responsibility

People want power. Perhaps in part because women faculty members have power in the classroom—as do men—that is sustained, reinforced, and revered daily, they do not chafe sufficiently over their lowered status outside the classroom. Yet, having power in the classroom is not enough if that limited power is abridged elsewhere. Women are concentrated in the lowest ranks of college and university teaching positions; they are often part-timers with unequal pay and no benefits; they infrequently move into leadership roles with administration. They thereby send a subtle but potent message of women's inequality to each other, to their male colleagues, and, perhaps most important, to the thousands of students they serve.

Only as they join together and assist each other will women have an impact on the often well-intentioned administrators whose day-to-day decisions tend to exclude or discriminate against women. Only as women work actively and openly with their fellow professionals will they gain equal status with men in the community college movement.

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Stereotypically feminine characteristics are of enormous value in relation to humanities education. They have been more often valued by and for women than otherwise.

How Can Women Influence Humanities Education?

Lloyd Averill

The status and strength of the humanities will represent a major test for the community college in the decade immediately ahead. That is the view of Arthur Cohen, a leading educational researcher and director of the Center for the Study of the Community College. The test, says Cohen (1980), is whether, by consenting to the weakening of the humanities or even to their actual elimination from the curriculum, the community college will forfeit its claim to being a genuine and integral part of the higher education enterprise in this country.

What contribution can women in the community college make to the strengthening of the humanities, at the same time predisposing the vital continuance of the community college's full educational mission? Before attempting to answer that question, it will be useful to define the

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somewhat ambiguous term *humanities*. It is most common to understand humanities as designating a division of undergraduate curriculum, which includes within it certain specialized areas of academic subject matter. However, there is some disagreement as to which areas of subject matter it includes. Almost everyone would accept philosophy and religious studies as belonging in the humanities division. But what of literature and the languages of which literature is the expression? Are they humanities or are they arts? Indeed, should those fields of activity traditionally designated as arts—music, dance, the visual arts—be joined with the humanities? Federal legislation, prodded by influential elements within the academic community, said "no" and segregated the arts from the humanities in separate national endowments. What about history? That apparently depends on the individual historian's view of historiography—on whether historical method is seen to be more akin to science or to art. And what about psychology and sociology? The approach to those disciplines may, indeed, be humanistic; there are distinct humanistic schools of psychological and sociological theory and practice. However, those disciplines are often approached with a mathematical model or in alliance with physiology.

The fact is that, given a disagreement among academicians themselves, we will find little help in understanding what humanities means by attempting to derive a definition from the organization of the curriculum. Even if full agreement existed, such derivation would be disastrous for humanistic inquiry itself. In its broadest and most generic sense, humanities refers to those areas of inquiry and of action which deal with what it means most distinctively to be human and with what it takes to live thus humanly and humanely. It would be disastrous for at least three reasons to think that humanities designates a set of academic subject-matter fields: (1) such designation would lead to premature formalization and containment of what is, in its essence, as vital and as broad as life itself; (2) it would tempt us to assume that the only ones who know, reliably, what it means to live humanly and humanely are a coterie of academic specialists, thus ironically disqualifying the lived witness and wisdom of the rest of humanity; and (3) it would lead to the assumption that the humanities are appropriate subjects of study primarily only for those who choose to enroll in academic programs where the traditional disciplines are taught, thus cutting off the rest of the community from access to humanistic understanding and resources.

Rather than thinking of the humanities as a set of academic subjects, we should consider them organized and disciplined ways of con-

fronting the radical questions that arise out of human life as it is lived—questions that are the permanent constituents of that life, giving it tone and texture and creating both its perplexity and its promise, questions whose very contemplation is itself a profoundly humanistic act. Such questions have to do with the meaning and experience of love and conflict, pleasure and suffering, creativity and death, power and vulnerability, altruism and arrogance, value and indifference, intimacy and ultimacy, mystery and boredom, terror and ecstasy, aspiration and limitation, passion and diffidence, tragedy and exaltation.

The Role of the Humanities in Community Colleges

Understood in this way, the status and strength of the humanities will represent still another major test for the community college—a test that will tell far more than just whether or not that institution is to be viewed as an integrated part of the higher education enterprise. The role of the humanities will test whether or not such a college intends, in the fullest sense, to be a *community* college, where the most pressing human needs of the community—which include but run far deeper than the need for trained commercial and industrial workers—can find both reflection and responsiveness.

If willingness to give to the humanities this kind of role is an institutional test for the college, it is no less a test for individual teachers of the humanities within the college. Their test will be whether or not they are willing to think beyond accepted conventions—standard academic disciplines (philosophy, history, literature) carved into standard subject-matter blocks (a survey of the problems of philosophy, American history to the Civil War, the American novel) and taught with a standard facts-acquisitional pedagogy ("I'll tell you what the facts are; you tell them back to me on examinations"). Such conventions, which are too preoccupied with supposed learning to give much thought to the humanity of the learner, are responsible for an ironic result: standard humanities courses that are not notable for having any humanizing effects.

If the humanities are to survive as vital forces in the community college, humanities teachers will have to do at least three things:

1. They will have to busy themselves with redesign so that course content becomes a vehicle for confronting the classical human questions (such as tragedy, power, justice, morality), which are the real subject matter of the humanities. Such recovery of their essential human focus is the only way to prevent the humanities from being dismissed, pejoratively and justifiably, as merely academic.

2. In the service of such redesign, teachers will have to repudiate disciplinary isolation in favor of intellectually integrated efforts that can approach such confrontation from multiple sources of insight and illumination (aesthetic as well as philosophic, transcendental as well as historical). Without an effort to create a larger holism and contextualism—which is to say, without an effort to treat it on an authentically human scale—humanities subject matter is inevitably distorted and denatured.

3. Teachers of humanities will have to replace pretensions to elitism and self-sufficiency—most especially, the notions that humanities study can be effective only with students who have an essentially "academic" orientation and that, in any event, those who want to study the humanities must come to the professional humanist and study them on the teacher's own terms—with a willingness to make humanistic study broadly available. They must actively seek opportunities to incorporate humanities modules within occupational curricula in ways that respect the integrity of both (ethics for automotive technology and for real estate; tragedy and fire science; aesthetics and engineering), or as service courses carried off the campus and into the community.

It has been assumed by academic humanists—teachers of the putative humanistic disciplines—that the effort to commend the humanities to students who lack traditional academic interests and skills and, concomitantly, the effort to win a place for the humanities in the occupational curricula that have come to predominate in the community college, is virtually a lost cause. It may well be so, as long as the humanities are viewed as discrete, often abstracted, self-contained and self-referencing subjects in a traditional academic curriculum, whose relation to other instructional areas is one of competition at best, of disparagement or contempt at worst.

But if the humanities are viewed as organized and disciplined ways of confronting the radical questions that arise out of human life as it is lived, then their relation to all sorts and conditions of men and women, to say nothing of all sorts and conditions of curricula, is direct and demonstrable.

The point of contact between the humanities and the student of automotive technology, real estate, dental hygiene, or fire science is to be found in that student's own human grappling with such radical experiences as love, death, aspiration, and vulnerability and with an experienced—sometimes even desperate—need for illumination and coping skills in their presence. Some students, who appear to lack traditional academic interests and skills, nevertheless know more about

tragedy—surely one of the most persistent themes with which the humanities must deal—than do the academic humanists who try to teach them.

The task, therefore, is not to invite students to visit the humanities as if they were alien territory, but to awaken in them a competence to traverse a familiar, often threatening and frightening, human landscape with greater awareness, deeper and more ordered reflection, wider resources for understanding and for venturing, and greater assurance about themselves and their human destinies.

In the end, the effective survival of humanistic study and influence in the community college (which is a larger and more important issue than the survival of discrete humanistic disciplines) will depend on a recognition by teachers throughout the curriculum that, like war and the generals, the humanities are too important to be left to professional humanists. Teachers in a broad range of instructional fields will need to be encouraged to approach teaching humanistically whenever it is appropriate—that is, with full and conscious regard for the distinctively human issues that are resident in and under diverse subject matters even of the most technical kind.

What Makes a Humanist?

Having attempted to clarify the meaning of the humanities, it is now important to clarify what it is to be a *humanist*—whether humanist by profession, or humanist by conviction (we may hope that the latter is always the basis for the former). What are the traits and capacities necessary for one to approach the humanities respectfully on their own terms?

1. A *tolerance for ambiguity* (indeed, an openness to mystery) is essential to begin with. In a compelling article, Nobel Prize laureate and biologist S. E. Luria and psychologist Zella Luria (1975) put the contrasting essence of the humanities in a single sentence: "If science is the art of the soluble, . . . the humanities might well be called the art of the insoluble" (p. 274).

This may make it possible for us to accept the appropriateness of referring to the "hard sciences," as we commonly do, and to accept the equal appropriateness of understanding the humanities as "soft"; no compliment or depreciation is intended by either term, but simply acknowledgment that the former seeks the rock-fact which is beneath all proximate ambiguity while the latter embraces the ultimate ambiguity beneath all rock-fact.

Commenting on the kinds of humanistic questions we have already identified, Luria and Luria (1975) note:

> From the time we emerge from childhood, we are aware that these are areas of personal judgment, areas for choice and not for final solutions, for search and not for final explanation. We seek clarity, lucidity, but no ultimate answers. Even philosophy searches, not for final answers, but for insights into those mental processes that pose for the human mind its schematic framework and its boundary conditions. Essentially, the study of the humanities is the bolstering of our own inner search for meaning by using the illuminations that poets, philosophers, writers, historians, have projected upon the problems of the human condition (p. 275).

2. *Respect for the irrational* is another characteristic of the humanist. Premature compression of human experience into fixed categories that the mind can then control and manipulate for its own purposes, and with which the mind can therefore be comfortable, robs life not only of its disorienting surprises but also of its surprising possibilities. No rational system can comprehend the cruelty of the German death camps, and no rational system can comprehend the emergence from those awful places of invulnerables who, despite the terror to which they had been subjected, came out with their humanity relatively intact.

3. An *intuitive capacity* is important for the humanist—attentiveness to quieter emanations and to subtler stirrings, a willingness to listen for the intent beneath the declaration and to watch for the motive beneath the movement. These are talents possessed by poets and by the most gifted historians alike. They are, as well, the traits others of us must cultivate if we intend to break through to an inner reality.

4. A humanist must have a *willingness to deal with feelings,* both her or his own and the feelings of others. Only momentarily is it possible to stand back dispassionately from the lived questions that are the humanities and study them with a disinterested eye. To be sure, those recurring moments of dispassion are essential if we are to maintain balance and perspective, if we are to understand that, while they are indeed our questions, they are also the terms of a common humanity which we share with all who have ever lived. Because they are our questions, we cannot detach ourselves from them; try as we must to define and objectify them, the final fact is that they define us. And

because they hold this ultimate power over us, they command our deepest feelings. The humanities cannot be confronted adequately unless teachers and students alike understand that depth of feeling, acknowledge it, give it legitimacy, free it for expression, and thus reduce the impotence we suffer when those threatening feelings are repressed or denied.

5. A humanist needs *sensitivity to the aesthetic.* This means more than merely a feeling for beauty, which is the way the term *aesthetic* is sometimes used. In larger terms, sensitivity to the aesthetic means a concern for design, tone, texture, and rhythm in our human experience. And equally important, aesthetic applies to whole-life contexts—to the lived unity and competence that result when design, tone, texture, and rhythm cohere and to the lived contradiction, chaos, and incompetence that result when they war with each other.

6. A humanist is characterized by a *strong value orientation,* by a concern not only for what is (descriptive inquiry) but for what ought to be (normative inquiry). In recent years, many professional humanists have been content with the safer tasks of a descriptive scholarship, perhaps because of a desire to share in the larger certainties and the practical prestige of the "hard sciences," or perhaps because of a simple failure of nerve in contemplating the risks of normative construction. But critical inquiry is one of the endemic tasks of the humanities, as William May (1977) quite properly insists, noting that in its Greek derivation *critical* means to judge or decide. So, says May (1977), "the task of criticism in the intellectual life includes making judgments as to worth and value in the spheres of politics, art, economics, religion, philosophy, and morals. Operational intelligence (which characterizes the 'hard sciences' and technology) tells one how to get from here to there; critical intelligence (which is the province of the humanities) raises questions as to whether the there is worth getting to" (p. 19).

7. Finally, a humanist is, in the main, a *generalist,* however much his or her starting point may be located in one of the specialized humanistic disciplines (religion, literature, history). The reason for this generalist orientation does not lie in any individual humanist's pretense at omnicompetence among the several academic humanities. We must recall once more that, on the generic terms urged in this chapter, the humanities are not a set of academic specializations but a complex set of lived questions that those specializations address. Whatever the starting point—whether in one of the academic humanities or in a curricular area entirely outside of them—the scope of the humanist's concern will be as large as the life out of which those questions arise simply

because each question is organically entailed in all the others. That kind of mutual entailment is precisely what the term *life* means.

Feminine Aspects of Humanism

When this list of traits is reviewed, a striking and potentially useful discovery can be made: Every item on the list is a stereotypically feminine characteristic. A tolerance for ambiguity and openness to mystery contrast with a characteristically masculine insistence on clear decisions; feminine respect for the irrational contrasts with the masculine demand to be given logical reasons; feminine intuition contrasts with masculine matter-of-factness and dependence on authorities; a woman's willingness to deal openly with her feelings contrasts with masculine analytic preoccupations; a woman's characteristic concern for values contrasts with a man's characteristic drive toward goals; women's interests tend to be broader and more varied, men's narrower and more specialized.

I have deliberately called these characteristics stereotypically feminine. I do not know enough to say—nor, so far as I can determine, does anyone else—whether or not these traits have any root in biological makeup. Their relation to socialization processes is much clearer. I do not mean to imply that all women possess these traits uniformly any more than that all men lack them to the same degree. I do mean to say that these stereotypically feminine characteristics are of enormous value, especially in relation to the humanities, and that they have more often been valued by and for women than otherwise. And I do mean to say that, based on the definition that has been urged in this chapter, women in the community college—or anywhere else, for that matter—will best be able to strengthen the humanities to the extent that they value, affirm, and live out these characteristics in their teaching (however much they may also value and appropriate stereotypically masculine traits in their striving to achieve greater human richness and competence). Women can continue to promote the humanities only as they give their students—men and women alike—both opportunity and encouragement to value and practice these characteristics in and beyond the classroom.

Correlatively, there is a clear implication for men in the community college who care about strengthening the humanities—namely, that their own humanistic influence and effectiveness will depend on bringing to consciousness what Carl Jung called the *anima* in every man, that feminine aspect which contrasts with and complements the

animus, which is the masculine aspect in women as well as in men. Jungian analyst June Singer (1973) has put the challenge to men in these terms: "Orientation toward the anima would mean . . . the man's becoming aware of the potentiality for those 'feminine qualities' of warmth, receptivity, patience, and openness to the other within himself. [The task for a man is to] realize these elements and to learn to exercise them without having to feel less of a man" (p. 236).

All of which is to say that, as teachers, we will serve the humanities most effectively the more all of us—women and men—are able to be more fully human.

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To meet the needs of the growing female majority of two-year college students, counselors and programmers must target their programs for special subpopulations of women.

New Directions for Women's Studies and Support Services

Carol Eliason

The 1970s marked the initiation of a new and eagerly received form of special services programming on two-year college campuses—women's programming. It had its roots in the best tradition of the two-year college movement: rapid response to community needs. During the 1970s, large numbers of women looked to college campuses in search of skills and credentials for labor market entry or reentry or for enrichment and enhancement of personal horizons. In 1973 women made up approximately 20 percent of the total enrollments, in contrast to 1980's 52 percent of four million full-time enrollments (FTEs).

By the end of the last decade, it was apparent that women's programming had developed along three main themes: (1) meeting economic needs, including skills and credentials development; (2) life-style change; and (3) new consciousness resulting from the feminist movement. Thus, institutions responded with programs and services in different forms and under diverse leadership and management, including offices of continuing education for women, counseling service women's centers, and for-credit academic women's studies programs. Commu-

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nity-based, two-year colleges have offered multiple low-cost educational outreach options to local women. Noncredit courses, workshops, and programs have continued to flourish in both urban and rural settings. Although the goals of women's studies and support services vary widely from institution to institution, two common objectives have been noted: (1) "to educate and raise the consciousness of both men and women about the roots of sex roles in life and society," and (2) "to make them aware of the possibilities of change, refinement, and a combination of these roles for both men and women" (Elovoson, 1980, p. 17). It is significant that, although little quantitative or qualitative data exist on enrollments at the national level, representative state agencies report continued high participation rates in programs that address personal growth and life-style changes. The titles have changed over the past decade, but the mission is still clear: American women are on the move, and community colleges are opening their doors to equality of the sexes.

The Labor Market

One of the most significant social changes of the 1970s was women's growing need for skills and credentials with which to enter or reenter the labor market. Increasing numbers of women are returning to the labor force because of the boredom, frustration, or loneliness they experience as their children grow older and leave home (Eliason, 1977). Community colleges have addressed this challenge.

Jobs traditionally male-dominated and requiring technical, craft-oriented, or management skills hold the best prospects for females in the new decade. Among the high-demand fields offering career-growth potential are machine tool-and-die design, drafting, accounting, computers, and environmental sciences. Such fields offer high pay, greater employment opportunity, and a greater chance for self-fulfillment through career advancement. Outstanding programs to meet this need have been developed by two-year colleges in all federal regions. Women of all ages need increased access to accurate information regarding occupations that are expected to grow and offer good opportunities for pay and advancement. Although only 16 percent of employed women are now classified as professional or technical, demand for women in engineering, law, medicine, and architecture should continue to be high in the 1980s. There will be a declining demand for teachers and librarians. Adult women entering academe in the 1980s will need to know all their career options in order to ensure economic as well as academic equity.

Many factors prevent women from training for better-paying careers. A study by Denbroeder and Thomas (1979) concluded that a woman's own perceptions and pressures from her family were the two major factors deterring women from pursuing male-dominated occupations. Denbroeder and Thomas found that women who seriously considered nontraditional occupations perceived more accurately the requirements and problems that exist, and that women who had little or no thought of entering a nontraditional field were easily deterred by family and peer pressures. Women who are interested in nontraditional or pioneering occupations tend to have working mothers (Tangri, 1972). Almquist and Angrist (1971), Kane (1976, 1978, 1980), and Eliason (1979) find that over 90 percent of females enrolled in better-paying, predominantly male occupational programs have had strong, positive relationships with male teachers, fathers, or older brothers. Moore (1975) found that fathers generally had greater influence than mothers did on women choosing nontraditional careers. The mothers who opposed their daughters' choosing nontraditional careers objected because they did not want their daughters to choose an "antisocial" career, such as law, an "unfeminine" career, such as physical education, or a "too different" career, such as electrical technology. Societal pressures weigh heavily when women encounter hostility from family and friends concerning a nontraditional occupational choice.

Women as Adult Learners

Farmer (1967) identifies three areas that should be considered by administrators who work with adult students: age, psychological maturity, and social roles. Knefelkamp, Widick, and Stroad (1978) have developed a modification of Perry's nine-stage model for cognitive development that has important implications for community-college counseling of adult women. Each stage represents a different and increasingly complex way of understanding knowledge and the learning process. More recent studies in adult learning styles are developing major challenges to long-held precepts. As a person passes through the adult years, there is a diversification of abilities, skills, attitudes, and interests (Farmer, 1967). Students who are women may have a tendency to use what they know best rather than exploring new possibilities for action. They thus tend to repeat behavioral patterns even though these may inhibit their ability to perceive effective alternatives. Social-role pressures increase as women grow older. Society places high expectations on adults as they move through different age time zones. In addi-

tion to family responsibilities, for example, women have obligations imposed by their jobs, communities, and churches.

Financial Aid. While few barriers to open-door policies exist within two-year colleges, access to specific occupational programs by adult women and especially by part-time students is limited. Admissions practices are particularly affected by financial aid opportunities. In *Neglected Women: The Educational Needs of Displaced Homemakers, Single Mothers, and Older Women* (Eliason, 1978), testimony was gathered from over 2,000 respondents in all ten federal regions. The absence of adequate and appropriate financial aid was cited by an overwhelming number of respondents as a block to goal attainment. Financial obligations due to debts left by a former husband and/or low current income may require that a woman work rather than pursue education, even if education would help her acquire more marketable skills. Neither postsecondary institutions nor the government make financial aid readily available to these women. In many instances, a woman's children may be too old for her to be eligible for social security; she has probably never worked for pay outside the home. Institutions often have similar restrictions and age limitations on the types of financial aid for education they may offer (Brandenburg, 1974; Buckley, Freeark, and O'Barr, 1976; Eliason, 1978).

Although federal guidelines allow an institution to offer federal grants or loans to part-time students who enroll in at least six credit hours, many institutions do not make them available. In addition, many women are blocked from financial assistance because they must list as assets their spouses' income from the previous year, even though that income may no longer be available due to divorce, separation, death, or other incapacitation of spouse. Because of repayment requirements, loan options often are not realistic for females who are heads of households. The beginning adult part-time learner who needs aid for a single course finds little or no aid. Part-timers will continue to need tuition options that are without penalties.

Counseling. Fossedal (1979) observes that the community college counselor is the link between the woman and the instructional program. In 1977 over 1,100 females on ten two-year college campuses were interviewed, and only 22.5 percent rated personal counseling services as good. Although all ten institutions offered both occupational and personal counseling, 16.5 percent of the sample did not know if counseling was offered and an additional 16.4 percent denied that it was available. Respondents had even less awareness of personal problem-solving services. Over 25 percent stated that it was not available

and 33.8 percent did not know if the college offered such services. In contrast, of fourteen identifiable and common student-support programs, the learning resource centers received the highest ratings by 55.3 percent of the respondents. Targeted women's programs were also given high marks. Skilled faculty advisement takes on increased importance in the equity-conscious institution. Working with professionally trained counselors, faculty can provide supportive bridges between the worlds of home, education, and work. Sensitive female faculty and administrators can also offer role models for students.

Various studies of adult learners who are women indicate that practical approaches to preemployment training and counseling include: (1) development of family and school reinforcement of self-worth and support for risk taking, (2) greater emphasis in home and school on the importance of decision-making and computational skills, as well as those that develop manual dexterity, (3) increased emphasis on physical fitness and competitive sports activities at an early age, (4) wider use of mass media to broaden public awareness of the skill pathways leading to better-paid employment, and (5) a national campaign to inform parents of the socioeconomic factors that will confront women in the labor market during the 1980s and 1990s.

Women's studies and women's centers' short-term programs have made great strides toward facilitating growth and humanizing the learning environment on campus. Many institutions are in the process of redefining the role of the counselor-educator in order to better serve adult learners. Braud (1967) perceived the role of the counselor-educator as that of a "go-between" who can assist the student in relating to an educational venture. Overcoming personal biases concerning the role of women in certain career occupations is imperative. As the counselor or teacher becomes more knowledgeable, it is to be hoped that he or she will dispel such myths as: "Women do not want to work for a woman boss," "Women take more sick leave than men," "Older women workers are unattractive and inefficient," and "Women suffer unmentionable, vague diseases in middle life."

Employment Opportunities

Opportunities for midmanagement training and paid internships need to be expanded to better orient women to the world and pressures of white-collar work. Expansion of credit for cooperative and paid experience, as well as credit for life experience, are a boon for acquiring job skills through education. Many skills developed through volunteer jobs

and in homemaking can be adjusted, streamlined, and translated into attractive, marketable skills.

During the 1970s, success stories continued to mount for women entering previously male-dominated management roles. This is attributable to several measurable factors: better enforcement of civil rights and affirmative action legislation and regulation; the increased incentives for interstate corporations holding federal contracts to be in compliance with holding quotas; and larger numbers of educated and skilled women prepared for and competing with males in a generally expanding economy. Kane (1976) and Eliason (1977) found that women selecting emerging occupational education (programs in which the number of unemployed women has exceeded 15 percent in recent years), such as accounting, engineering, drafting, and law enforcement, have been encouraged by female teachers, parents, and/or counselors. The Women in Transition (WIT) program at Evergreen Valley College in California has been an excellent model for other colleges to emulate with this population in mind.

Smith, as quoted by Stechert (1980), cites rapidly advancing inflation as an important factor in women's career choices. In two-career families, the mother usually needs to bring home more than pin money in order to keep pace with the family's fixed expenses. The single head of household faces even more imperative economy-related career choices. Administrators, counselors, and faculty advisers need to be aware of these economic realities if they are to prevent "cooling out" of women's career goals and thus the potential for economic self-sufficiency.

Postsecondary training for nursing and allied health professions has expanded greatly during the last decade. By the mid 1980s, major changes in content and delivery styles are expected to increase equity access for men and minority women. Currently, men enrolled in vocational nursing experience some of the same sex biases women encounter in predominantly male occupations. Women training in this field will continue to need supportive programs in role-stress management, physical fitness, and job-search skills. Increased access to entrepreneurial skill development for women offers several advantages for increasing economic stability of the family (Eliason, 1979). Among these advantages are increased potential for economic self-sufficiency during childbearing years through the manufacture and sale of homemade products or services. In rural or small-town settings, entrepreneurial training for women increases the potential of seasonal income from selling homegrown produce and handcrafts and providing tourist services and accom-

modations. For marginal agribusiness, this can lessen the need for family-owned operators to hire outsiders. In the 1980s, there will continue to be a need throughout the U.S. for improved small-business training and management assistance targeted for females. In addition, for the adult man or woman who chooses to enhance homemaking and parenting skills, postsecondary vocational education continues to offer a broad spectrum of service learning options sensitive to the changing modes of family life.

Serving New Populations

Community college planners have just begun to reach out to special populations: adolescent mothers, minority women, the handicapped, displaced homemakers, and older (over age sixty-two) women. (The Widow's Exchange in Bristol, Massachusetts, offers numerous resources for such women, as does Los Angeles Valley College.) Today our society is confronted with a growing subpopulation of adolescent mothers who have few marketable skills and little awareness of the limiting economic and social consequences they and their children will likely encounter. We have yet to develop a nationwide commitment to viable alternatives to an ever increasing Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) welfare burden within our society. Little has been done to open postsecondary vocational training programs for single mothers. Single mothers as a group have an urgent need for childcare and are characterized by a high rate of unemployment. Where Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) training and counseling have been targeted to serve this population, higher labor market survival rates for women have been noted. However, programs for this subpopulation exist in less than half of the states in the U.S.

The heavy concentration of minority women in certain neighborhoods points to a need for some type of outreach program. Women in this group have even less opportunity than their white counterparts to learn about the community college programs and career options available to them. Research in several parts of the U.S. indicates a growing need for community colleges to alert women to the changes taking place in the job market and the consequences for their own status in the labor market (Eliason, 1977).

Displaced homemakers represent an increasing percentage of women seeking entry into the work force. Displaced homemakers are usually women between the ages of thirty and sixty-two who are divorced, widowed, separated, or deserted, and hence forced into the labor mar-

ket with few marketable skills. Many of these women are left to pay mortgages, bills, and various other debts for which they are financially unequipped. As a result of their compelling economic problems, displaced homemakers need immediate money-making skills and credentials. Their situation necessitates time-saving approaches to goal attainment, such as credit for homemaking and volunteer learning experience, external degree programs, College Level Examination Program (CLEP) and General Educational Development (GED) tests. Over sixty community college programs for displaced homemakers have been identified throughout the country.

Older women face age discrimination in the work force and in applying for graduate and professional training programs. Older women may have lost earlier study skills, and since they have been out of school the longest, they must make the greatest adjustments to classroom or on-the-job training situations. Community colleges need to develop strategies to overcome their problems.

Women's Programs in the 1980s

Necessary elements for effective women's programming in the 1980s will include institutional commitment in terms of personnel, facilities, and finances; active community-based advisory committees; creative external financing; and multifaceted programming addressing varying populations. Funding for women's programs will come from a number of sources: Title I, Higher Education Act; state and federal vocational education; Title XX, Social Security Act; Title IV, Older Americans Act; and continuing education institutional funds. Ongoing federal and state legislative funding commitments to specific programs will also be important to success; these include programs for lifelong learning, including compensatory retraining of older women; career education for all women; and better integration of CETA and vocational education efforts to achieve sex equity in labor market training.

A 1979 survey conducted by the Center for Women's Opportunities of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC) revealed significant changes in programming for adult learners. Creative programs for helping the entire family to capitalize on leisure markets appear to be on the rise. These include "Super Saturdays" for the whole family, as well as multigenerational courses such as "Adult/Teen Communication" and "Learning to Live with Your Aging Parent." Specialist staffs to provide growth and personal-change training for men and women are appearing in both urban and suburban settings.

One key element to be included in planning successful pro-

grams for women in the 1980s will be the awareness that timing and delivery mode may be better targeted to serve special populations. Two successful transportable models are Lakeland Community College's (Illinois) Thursday College, which offers block scheduling of classes and support services from an awareness center), and Cuyahoga Community College's (Ohio) Weekend College. Weekend College offers options for change for the whole family. Immigrant wives find that Sunday classes in English as a second language help bridge the social isolation gaps experienced following moves from Russia, Vietnam, or Cuba. Spouses and children can concurrently enroll in both skills-building and hobby classes.

Rural two-year colleges with for-credit homemaking programs have moved to attract and serve women involved in career change or life-style change. An outstanding example of such programming is at Okaloosa-Walton Community College in Niceville, Florida. There, the home economics department offers both credit and noncredit courses in the total life cycle, from a child development program to a course on survival skills for the adult blind, the latter funded by Title XX survival funds.

Rural families are feeling the pinch of social change and inflation from several directions. Equipment and maintenance costs have skyrocketed in some parts of the South. A spouse may commute to towns as far as sixty miles away to work. Thus, the stay-at-home "farmer" may be the wife and/or mother of the family, who needs training in everything from farm record-keeping to animal husbandry or heavy machine repair. For rural sections of sunbelt states, two-year colleges have learned to market courses in diesel mechanics, drafting, and machine tool-and-die manufacturing. Support groups such as Women's Incentive for New Growth (WING) at Pasco-Hernandez, Florida, provide access to emergency food and an emergency clothes closet for low-income women.

Legislative renewal in the 1980s should include a national mandate that all youth, upon completion of secondary education, have at least one marketable economic survival skill and access to quality training for citizenship, consumer, and parenting roles. In this way, although many colleges are confronted with budget limitations in the 1980s, women's programs can offer a viable mode for recruitment and retention of women.

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Women's limited opportunity for economic and occupational mobility should make occupational education attractive to them—if community colleges can meet the challenge.

Petticoats to Jackhammers: Strategies for Women in Occupational Education

Emily B. Kirby

Single, married, widowed, and divorced women of all ages work outside their homes for pay. Many work in such traditionally poorly paid pink-collar (service) fields as waitressing, beauty culture, and retail sales. Secretaries and other office staff are called white-collar workers, while factory-working blue-collar employees complete the patriotic spectrum of women workers: pink, white, blue—dull and dead-ended. Traditional women's occupations slightly higher in status and financial reward include teaching, social work, and nursing. A few women are professionals in business, industry, government, and other fields. Most women professionals are employed in traditional occupations or occupations that are considered appropriate for women and that employ mainly women. In nontraditional occupations for women (fields—such as construction—in which less than 30 percent of the work force is female), the majority of workers are men. In contrast, women fill more than 80 percent of secretarial positions.

Some traditional women's occupations have strict entry require-

ments and relatively high status. However, women find that status and education provide no economic buffer: The glutted teacher market is shrinking, while the nursing market faces other difficulties. Such paradoxes are interesting; teaching, considered an ideal field for women, remains a highly attractive option for college women. Yet, teaching today is unlikely to provide employment. And in nursing, which appears immune to laws of supply and demand, the nationwide shortage has markedly improved neither salaries nor working conditions; nurses are unable to command competitive wages in the marketplace. However, economic reality alone does not and should not determine career choice. It appears that women will continue to enter these traditional women's fields and hope to find vocational fulfillment.

But what of the masses of women who must work and are foundering on the vocational shoals? How can community colleges help them? What do we know about these women? We know that women have serious vocational and educational problems, that education and experience alone do not make the difference for women, and that, among women, occupational choices may be determined by age, social status, personal characteristics, other demographic variables, and—all too frequently—sex stereotypes.

Sex Stereotypes

Sex stereotypes, those often false generalizations, require brief examination. Studies and examples illustrate the powerful, sometimes subtle operation of sex stereotypes. These examples clarify some current difficulties in placing women in nontraditional situations.

A recent Gallup poll surveyed teenage occupational choices. In descending order, young women selected secretary, teacher, nurse, other medical, veterinarian, fashion designer, model, doctor, social worker, business, cosmetologist/hair dresser. All choices except veterinarian and doctor (which involve the stereotyped female nurture/love factor and the stereotyped male science factor) were traditional female occupational choices. Young men chose engineer, lawyer, teacher, professional athlete, musician, architect, farmer, doctor, military. Both young women and young men stayed with sex-stereotyped occupations with males choosing science, power, economic gain, and self-direction; females chose to be assistants, helpful, physically attractive, and other-directed. Such results remind us that occupational choices, difficult at any age, are stressful and can benefit from guidance. High school students usually have trained career-guidance staffs available. Thus one

wonders why stereotyped career choices continue to predominate. Do high school students make use of available career guidance? Do they fear making choices different from those of their peers? Do they make choices in the absence of information readily accessible to them?

Kane and Frazee (1978) sought to distinguish between traditional and nontraditional women. The former were guided mainly by stereotypes; the latter were less bound by them. Although many participants expressed difficulty in making nontraditional vocational choices, interest was the most influential factor in choice of vocational training. Exposure to an occupation is needed before a woman can decide whether she is interested in it. This starting point is important for community college educators to note, as there currently appears to be limited emphasis on providing women with information and insight covering nontraditional occupations.

Ability and earnings ranked second and third as determinants of vocational training choice. Parents ranked highest among social forces motivating women to select nontraditional vocational training, a finding documented in other studies. The father frequently is the more influential parent (also a sex-stereotyped perception), for when he approves and encourages a vocational choice, the daughter feels up to the challenge.

Traditional women who made traditional career choices were most affected by teachers and counselors. Teachers and counselors tend to be perceived as nurturant, helpful role models in the traditional mode. This relationship had double traditional reinforcement power when female teachers and counselors work with female students. Unfortunately, few counselors provide equal insight into nontraditional occupations for women. Few women counselors have had first-hand experience in nontraditional occupations. In addition, there are few women instructors in nontraditional vocational fields. Hands-on experience for women in vocational fields (Briggs, 1978), counseling for women in nontraditional occupations (Farmer, 1978), and vocational teacher preparation for women (Kane, 1978) have received attention.

Changing Sex-Stereotyped Employee Attitudes. Briggs (1978) probes the failure of apprenticeships to provide women in the skilled trades the same job entry and job paths open to men. One of Briggs' examples deals with communication and misconceptions. In communities where women on the shop floor were using their mechanical ability successfully, other study "respondents from all-male shops in the same communities did not know of women anywhere who were doing work

that required mechanical ability" (p. 14). Other obstacles to achieving fair treatment in nontraditional occupations include sex-segregated want ads, sex-biased test scores and guidance systems, discriminatory recruiting practices, tokenism, and rumors—all of which serve to exclude women. Community colleges can act as insulators against these negative practices by intensifying awareness and by planning strategies to combat them.

The 1970s provide documentation that training programs for lucrative occupations were intended for and utilized by males. The Apprenticeship Outreach Program served 22,000 males and no females between 1965 and 1972 (Briggs, 1978). Recently, two model Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs—Denver's Better Jobs for Women and Boston's Nontraditional Occupational Programs for Women—were established to prepare women for nontraditional jobs. Awareness of the need for such programs is growing. Kane (1978) suggests a model for retraining women teachers to teach in nontraditional vocational education. This model incorporates apprenticeship, vocational training, and supervised work in a male-intensive vocation. Kane reasons that women teachers have college degrees and could complete program requirements in four to six years. However, the appeal to degreed women of lengthy retraining is questionable.

As an alternative, we could prepare our high school graduates who are women to be nontraditional vocational teachers. Under cooperative educational/vocational conditions, women entering and subsequently graduating from carefully selected community college vocational/technical curricula could pursue bachelor's degrees, apprenticeship in industry, supervised work experience, and student teaching within the time span Kane mentions. Thus, women graduates of community colleges and universities would be ready between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-six to teach in a field that needs them. Community colleges would do well to study the feasibility of implementing such programs.

Community college educators and administrators know that myths about women's search for occupational equality are damaging. Such fables as "Women only work for pin money," "Women have high absenteeism," and "Working mothers produce juvenile delinquents" encompass untruths. Surely, community colleges, with their nationwide links, can develop, field test, coordinate, and implement comprehensive apprenticeship solutions with broader scope, higher probability of success, and greater service to their communities in cooperation with diverse, independent business and industry. Community colleges know

their customers: the students and the community. No institution is in a better position to meet the twin necessities of combatting sex stereotypes and training women to enter nontraditional occupations than is the community college.

Employer Attitudes. Although employers may be reluctant to put women in new, nontraditional jobs, employers' worst fears are rarely realized. Male employees (Meyer and Lee, 1978) in ten public utility firms found that women worked well, had no greater absenteeism or turnover than men, and were not troublemakers, but that stereotypes and sex-biased attitudes of male employees caused trouble. Male employees in nontraditional occupations felt threatened when the first women workers appeared in their work force. One woman placed in a formerly all-male unit tended to have problems less related to the job situation than to her sex. When several women entered a formerly all-male unit, they were the butt of jokes for a time.

Community colleges could promote women's smooth entry into traditionally male fields by offering orientations at locations where women will be working. These courses would be for men already employed at factories, labs, and industrial technology classrooms to help them deal with the new working relationships. Some studies have found that what males claim to fear most is that women employees will dissolve in tears if looked at crossly. Parallel orientations dealing with on-the-job behavior in nontraditional occupations need to be devised for women students.

Community colleges could encourage sex fairness by paying scrupulous attention to the composition of appointed curricular advisory committees. An informal check of Illinois community college catalogues confirmed lack of women members in all curricular advisory committees. The best women's representation was found on traditional women's curricula boards. Women are underrepresented in newer, nontraditional fields, such as data processing, hotel management, and biomedical technology. Men appeared on all advisory committees, including those that work with women's traditional occupational curricula—certified professional secretary, child care services, medical laboratory technology, and so forth. Talented women graduates of one's own programs could be appointed to advisory committees. Talented women practitioners from the community might be invited to serve. Either the ratio of female to male graduates or the ratio of female to male practitioners could set the standard for committee representation; even when curricula produce few women graduates, an advisory committee benefits from women members who serve as role models.

In order to attain the fullest benefit, such models need to be visible. All too often, advisory committee members have limited responsibilities and thus lack visibility. Inviting advisory committee members to participate in "career nights" would permit women to assist and counsel other women while informing them of nontraditional occupational choices. Such exposure might spell the difference for a woman between entering a traditional curriculum of moderate interest and venturing into a nontraditional field that really meets her needs.

Fulfilling Occupational Education's Promises to Women

How can community colleges help meet women's needs for traditional occupational education? One important way is through the use of networks and network pyramids. When existing communications structures are built upon and new ones are explored for a specific purpose, the process, called *networking*, can produce results rapidly. Women's organizations have employed this strategy with excellent results in the world of work. How could this strategy be applied in the community college? If a community college wanted more women in nontraditional occupational curricula, it might begin with a "spiderweb network," a fine mesh. The ranking woman administrator would spin the initial web, including other campus administrators, nontraditional occupations coordinators, and faculty in her network to plan a strategy for the coming year. (The network should also include the advisory council. If advisory council members are willing to serve as mentors to women students in the network-selected curricula, the web is further strengthened and positive influence is exerted on both program and students.)

Two nontraditional curricula giving evidence of continued high labor demand would then need to be selected as initial targets. Enrollment goals, special services (for example, plant tours and mentors), and troubleshooting needs (for example, supportive counseling and role playing in the occupational setting) could be brainstormed, the suggestions winnowed, and plans made for mutually agreeable activities. Meetings of total faculty from the selected curricula would be held for sharing information about planning and implementing these activities. Many questions would need to be answered: How will we measure the success of this program? What career paths will follow from it? Where can a woman graduate expect to be after working five years in this field? How has the union reacted to women workers? What has

been the record of the major employer of our graduates regarding women employees? Women candidates would need to be recruited. Apparently, there is a strong relationship between completion of training and the proportion of women in the nontraditional curriculum; therefore, it is suggested that the enrollment goal in each network-selected curriculum be one-third women.

Once enrolled, a woman student's completion of training, job placement, and success in a nontraditional occupation may depend upon the quality of follow-up of follow-through activities. Such activities might include some sessions of systematic training in the establishment and maintenance of networks. How often do women check in with their major professors, people at their last jobs, people in other departments, or people in their fields at other schools? Are the threads in women's networks unraveling from disuse? They may be doing themselves a disservice. Women students seeking education and employment in fields where there are few women probably need networks more than do graduates of occupational programs. And they are probably ignorant about networks, too.

Naturally, the first (and each subsequent) year's efforts require thought and evaluation so that needed corrections may be made and commendation may be given where due. All actively involved persons, including women who do not complete the program, should be part of the evaluation. The responses of women students—quantitative and qualitative—are worthy of special attention. By the second year's end, or possibly earlier, women graduates can be brought back to campus as ambassadors to meet with current nontraditional students. Another view of network pyramids produces structures composed of interrelationships among industry, education, and unions that focus on getting women into nontraditional occupations. Only when networks are strong enough to support the free access of women into *any* occupation for which they have the ability, interest, and preparation will the designations of traditional and nontraditional occupations become expendable and superfluous.

Study Findings and Future Directions

A tool devised for work on related problems by the American College Testing (ACT) Program (Hanson and others, 1979) may aid in recruiting female high school graduates into nontraditional occupational programs. The Unisex ACT Interest Inventory (UNIACT) furnishes scales on which both sexes receive similar scores. The world of

work is so mapped that respondents can be located by region. For instance, Region 7 contains Category N, engineering and other applied technologies, while Region 6 includes Category K, construction and maintenance. With the cooperation of ACT, a community college could design a computer program to select all district high school junior and senior women whose UNIACT scores in Categores K and N reach a given high level. The computer-generated list would then serve as a basis for assessing the interest level of local high school women in the community college's engineering and construction curricula Responses to the UNIACT could be followed by personal contact with all interested students through public information material and brochures, invitations to campus, and community college speakers describing the programs to the high school student body. Steps in the network and network pyramid strategy could be initiated following identification of potential women students.

A study of sex bias in traditionally male occupational programs was conducted at the College of DuPage (COD) in Illinois to "evaluate potential sources of female sex bias and sex stereotyping within traditionally male occupational programs" (Bakshis and Godshalk, 1978, p. 1). Coordinators of a carefully planned research design surveyed randomly selected samples of (1) men and women students and (2) women enrolled in the traditionally male occupational programs. They then interviewed occupational program coordinators. In this way, information essential to further planning efforts was gathered.

Several COD findings may be applicable to other community colleges:

1. Women enrolled in nontraditional majors tend to be younger than both average students and traditional women students. If this COD finding proves typical, then nontraditional women students may be in greater need of role models, counseling supports, and active job-search techniques than are other students. Greater attention to recruitment of reentry women students for nontraditional occupations may be indicated. Provision for these program adjuncts deserves consideration and may be crucial.

2. Women in nontraditional programs achieve relatively high grades; many will transfer to upper-division schools. Generalizing from these COD findings, it may be said that women in nontraditional occupational education compete well and enjoy it. Good grades often predict good performance in related areas. For this reason and others, outstanding performance by these women deserves publicity by the community college.

3. Coordinators found evidence of sex bias in published materials. This may suggest a future project for community college occupational educators: production of sex-fair instructional materials for nontraditional occupations.

4. Sex did not influence the nontraditional occupational choice of women students. One wonders whether sex bias from male students influenced noncompletion decision by women students. Bakshis and Godshalk (1978) provide verbatim statements to this effect from women students. Women students identified male occupational students as sources of bias about nontraditional programs at COD.

The COD study might serve as a model for general assessment of women in nontraditional occupational programs. Replications would be useful both locally and as additions to the literature.

The study (Freeman, 1978) undertaken at Macomb County Community College (MCCC) in Michigan compared women students from nontraditional programs who had cooperative educational experience with those who had not. The findings showed that more coop then noncoop women graduated from community colleges and held program-related jobs and that more noncoop than coop women had previous job-related experience, took courses at upper-division schools after MCCC, and were unemployed (whether seeking or not seeking work). Although the sample was small (N = 54; 30 = coop, 24 = noncoop), what seems to emerge are two paths for women in nontraditional occupational education. One path, for younger women students, indicates the utility of coop job experience and its contribution to program completion and subsequent related employment. The other pathway is for older women, for women with prior occupational experience, and for women not currently in the work force. This pathway does not depend on coop experience and, indeed, may actively reject it. If these MCCC findings became general, program planners, recruiters, and women students in nontraditional curricula could use them in their decision making.

Trident Technical College (TTC) in South Carolina is putting its experience with its project Female Access to Careers in Engineering Technology (FACET) and the second phase of the project, Female Access to Careers in Industrial Technology (FACIT) to work. TTC's two-day conference will "demonstrate a practical and successful strategy which two-year colleges can implement to channel women into rewarding nontraditional careers" (*TTC Information Brochure*, 1980). Featured experts—all women—will include an engineer, a chemist, and a career educator. TTC cites a 21 percent enrollment by women in

engineering technology and a 9 percent enrollment by women in industrial technology as proof that the strategy works.

Workshops and conferences are an efficient way to keep up with what is occurring throughout the country. TTC has planned a comprehensive event that covers such topics as affirmative action, women's roles in the featured technologies, counseling, recruiting, apprenticeships, and a faculty perspective. Such a conference is a good beginning. What we need next is a directory of results achieved in enrolling women students in nontraditional programs and in their subsequent employment in related occupations.

Conclusion

There are problems for working women in the areas of job satisfaction, mobility, and economic return. Sex stereotyping and lack of exposure to nontraditional occupations for women has significantly affected perception of career opportunities. Community college occupational educators can enhance their serious commitment to fulfilling occupational education's promises for America's women. There remains abundant room for every community college to contribute its unique solution the the challenge of making occupational education attractive to America's women.

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The trustee who is most effective in advancing the interests of women is the woman who is most effective as a trustee.

A View from the Board of Trustees

Joyce A. Smith

In its report on the governance of higher education, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) described an effective board of trustees as a board whose members are "independent, free of conflict of interest, competent, devoted and sensitive to the interests of the several groups involved in the life of the campus (p. 33). The search for such a board would seem to be nearly as impossible as Diogenes' search for an honest man. Yet, institutions such as community colleges that should be responsive to the needs of society require at least some elements of this kind of leadership. This is especially true now, when we face a bewildering spectrum of constant change, shifting values, and seemingly unending conflicts between and among the constituencies of higher education.

Trustees: Keepers of the Trust

The word *trustee* implies a keeper of the trust, and the work *keep* connotes something more than the temporary. So, by seeking election or accepting appointment, a board member must serve the long-term

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welfare of the institution and help resolve current issues and conflicts in the light of a broader perspective than that provided by today

Serving the Whole Community. To be successful in this task, the trustee must have a breadth of vision that enables him or her to look beyond the interests of special groups, the pressures for expedient solutions, and the temptations for personal recognition or for even minor demonstrations of influence and authority. The trustee must help define the mission of the college, anticipate changes in society, and guide the institution along a path of constructive change. In addition, the trustee must oversee the financial welfare of the college, ensuring that the administration judiciously uses the available resources. The trustee must interpret the needs of the community by reacting to or initiating proposals for the community's good. In turn, the trustee must present the needs of the college to the community to ensure the popular and financial support required for the long-term stability of the college and its programs.

Obviously, few board members individually would measure up to these standards. Yet it is important that the board collectively work toward such goals and that each member contribute to the breadth of vision and understanding that these standards imply. A board position carries with it broad responsibilities, and it is inappropriate for persons to become board members in order to represent special interest groups, whether faculty, students, minorities, ethnicities, alumni, retirees—or women. This is not to say that these groups are unimportant or that special interest group interests do not exist; such groups should rightly be concerned about equal opportunities and justice, and they should make their views known, calling unfair treatment to the attention of the appropriate officials. But it should be emphasized that, in order to properly discharge the obligations of a member of the board, a trustee must be concerned with the welfare of *all* the members of the college community. This concern for the general principles of justice must take precedence over the needs of any one community segment at any given time. Trustees whose main concern is not the overall welfare of the community college define their role too narrowly.

Overcoming the Narrow View. Trustees are not the only ones who may define their roles in a narrow way. Administrators may also seek to define the role of the board in limited terms. The Carnegie Commission survey (1973) of student and faculty attitudes found that 41 percent of the faculty in two-year colleges and 49 percent of the faculty at comprehensive colleges and universities agreed with the statement: "Trustees' only responsibility should be to raise money and gain

community support" (p. 9). Indeed, in his article "Trustees: What One President Wants," Father Sellinger (1975), president of Loyola College, bluntly admits that his first priority is for a trustee to help him raise money for his institution, both through personal contributions and through access to influential and wealthy friends. He would choose the vast majority of his trustees for this purpose, allotting only a few trustee positions to his secondary and tertiary priorities of trustees who could help him with management and those chosen to retain the predominant religious character of the institution.

Pressures from administrators to confine the activities of the board to fund raising and rubber stamping must continually be resisted. Richard Lyman (1979), in a guest editorial in *AGB Reports,* a publication of the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, makes the important point that, even in the activity of fund raising, the trustee assumes an obligation for the welfare of the institution. He states that the board's "first responsibility is to see that the *fundamental* purposes of the institution—the objectives for the pursuance of which people gave money to that institution—are sustained. They are responsible for the integrity and financial viability of the university" (p. 4). Thus, even as fund raiser, the trustee must assume responsibility for the long-term welfare of the institution. This implies that the board must be involved in defining the purposes of the institution, providing appropriate procedures for its governance, evaluating the extent to which the institution achieves its mission, and ensuring the chances of its success and survival. This is equally true whether the funds raised are from private sources or from the public purse. Community college trustees assume this obligation for the taxpayer in the same way as do private college trustees in the private or corporate area.

Moving well beyond the limits of fund raising, the board should serve as a "reality check," making sure that the administration of the college is in touch with the community and its needs. The witticism that "education is too important to be left to educators" has something significant to say to trustees: The administrators of a college can sometimes be trapped into promoting a special set of positions so strenuously that they cannot step aside and view the institution from the perspective of distance. If the board can remain apart from the institution and view it from the position of benevolent observers and reactors, the trustees can provide that constructive adjustment essential to long-term health. In order to maintain this necessary perspective, the role of trustee must be broader than that of an advocate for a single institution, whether that be a community college or a public or private university.

In some instances, trustees have not been able to do this and boards have not been able to function effectively. John Corson (1979) cites "myopic, unreasoning advocacy of the interests of their institutions as advanced by faculties and administrations" (p. 20) as one reason some boards of trustees have lost power to statewide boards. Corson points out that boards that do not critically examine the policies and procedures submitted to them by administrators do administrators a great disservice. It takes extra effort for an official to involve the board in important decisions, especially since that same administration is under equal pressure from faculty and students for involvement in decision making. While it takes a great deal of time and effort on the part of the board member to learn each issue and become familiar with the policy implications, this responsibility comes with the office.

The Effective Woman Trustee

Should women attempt to win positions on boards of trustees? The answer is the same that should be given if the question were asked about men. Women should run for such positions only if they are willing to accept the total responsibilities of board membership, including responsibilities to the particular institution, education in general, and society at large; they should not seek office simply because they are women or because they wish to represent only the interests of their sex. There are many women with the necessary breadth of vision who are willing to spend the time and energy needed to fulfill the obligations of a member of a board of trustees. Indeed, our largest source of untapped talent and ability may lie in the existing supply of educated women. Should these women choose to devote their energies to this kind of public service, they could be of great help to education in general and to community colleges in particular.

Strangely enough, a woman trustee's greatest contribution to the cause of women and women's rights will probably result not from her being a narrow single-issue voice but from her example to other women. Women trustees can be important role models for young women in crucial stages of their own decision making. They can ensure the establishment of policies and procedures that are fair to all persons—including women—and they can be sensitive to the rights of all students. The distinction is important. The trustee who is most effective in advancing the interests of women is the woman who is most effective as a trustee. This is because the woman who is effective as a trustee is not seen as someone who focuses on a narrow set of interests and defends a

limited territory that she has defined as hers. Others know that she will not respond with a set of stereotyped phrases and complaints and that she will not always see issues from a fixed and unchanging perspective. She will see questions in terms of the growth and welfare of both the institution and the community and will not claim a victory in a minor skirmish at the risk of losing the opportunity to make a major advance.

Nevertheless, the woman who is a trustee does have an obligation to other women. For better or for worse, she will be highly visible. Her effectiveness as a board member will be used as a basis for judging all women. She has the opportunity to serve as an example of an energetic, dedicated woman who is a tremendous asset to a board of trustees. Like it or not, her shortcomings will be seen as a measure of the ineffectiveness of all women. Perhaps the best way a woman trustee can meet her obligation to be a role model is by focusing on being a woman who is a trustee rather than on seeing herself as a "woman trustee." Making this distinction requires full acceptance of herself as a woman. A person who is comfortable as a woman, who does not feel the need to apologize for being a woman, and who does not need to prove herself as "one of the boys" is in the best position to focus on being a trustee.

As a trustee, a woman should be a professional who takes her job (but not necessarily herself) seriously. She should do her homework and learn as much as she can about the problems facing the community, the college, the state, and education in general. As an informed person, she should be aware of the issues involved in the struggles of minorities and women; she should know what they are saying, and she should read some of their literature. A woman trustee should be able to recognize the classic inequities in educational policies and practices that contribute to the underrepresentation of certain groups in education and in the higher levels of faculty rank and administration. She should know the implications of personnel policies that penalize part-time teachers, the special effects of antinepotism policies on women, and the relationship between the manner of announcing vacancies and the solicitation of an adequate pool of applicants. She should be able to recognize the institutional responses to financial retrenchment that will have a disproportionate impact on women and on minority groups. Yet she should focus on the establishment of humane policies in the interest of all people without picking up every piece of bait that is thrown to test her. She should not be easily upset, and she should take care not to overreact to the gossip that is frequently leaked to board members by those with axes to grind. She should be neither more nor less shocked,

impressed, or bored by the gossip that is used to demean women and minorities who advance too rapidly than she would be if the same story were told about their male counterparts. The woman trustee should choose her own battles. She should make sure that they are worth fighting and they they might be won. She should not lose herself in the blind alleys of lost and impossible causes. To do this, she will have to learn to work with other board members. She will have to learn to be a trustee, as well as to understand the role.

Choosing the battles and working with others may strike some women as slow and cumbersome methods for effecting change. They would favor a more assertive approach, which they hope would overturn established bastions and capture the trenches of worn-out customs, and they may see "choosing the battles" as too accepting of the status quo. Yet, well-planned evolutionary change is often more lasting than are the traumas of revolution. It is easier to accept small, persistent changes that move us toward long-terms goals than changes that shock and frighten us so that we hold more tightly to our present values.

Working for the good of all students does not mean advocating the status quo. Logically, we cannot argue against discrimination of women and minorities if we work for preferential treatment that discriminates against other groups. Ensuring fair treatment for all is effecting a change in our present system. In the long run, an equal chance—an open opportunity—is all that is needed.

At times, the effective trustee may vigorously rock the boat, but rocking the boat will not necessarily lead to the boat's capsizing; rather, rocking the boat may lead to new and more productive directions. The woman trustee must remember that there are others in the boat with her; she is part of a group, and she needs to be aware of opportunities to lead that group, as well as of times when taking a stand on insignificant or ambiguous issues may be highly unproductive.

The New Trustee

Every new board member faces the task of learning to be an effective member of the team. Each board has a collective personality as different from other boards as the individual members of a given board are different from each other. To be effective as a trustee, a woman will need to participate as an active member of a group effort. But effectiveness does not come from experience alone. There are some general principles of group behavior, good manners, and common sense that can contribute to a new member's success.

Each board has a certain protocol, a previous pattern of behavior that may be fairly well established before a new member arrives. It has probably served the board well in the past, and board members will expect a new member to respect this pattern. Does the chair speak for the board with the press and/or community groups? If so, the newcomer should be aware that other board members will not appreciate a new trustee's holding her own press conferences. Does the chair want to know board members' major concerns with agenda items before the meeting? Tipping the chairperson off before "dropping a bombshell" in a public meeting helps both the chair and the board member: The chair can more effectively plan the use of group time, and the newcomer can save herself the embarrassment of being educated in public in case she has misperceived the situation. And, of course, embarrassment can be a two-way street. Before publicly labeling other board members' actions as stupid, inept, or mistaken, the new trustee must understand the reasons behind their actions. In many cases, it will be shown that the board acted in good faith on the best information available at the time. One can have a strong difference of opinion with a colleague as long as that difference remains impersonal and professional. After all, the power of the board lies in the board as a whole.

There is a real danger in viewing the board as a combination of friends and enemies and not seeing the responsibilities of the board as a collective group. Private grapevines to members of the administration or faculty serve to undermine the wisdom of the group. One can listen to her constituents, but she should do so in a manner that is open and aboveboard. Any cause whose advocates hide behind anonymity should be suspect, and the new board member is advised to champion causes with great caution. Again, she should be sensitive but not naive. Professionals do not criticize or embarrass other members of their profession in public. The board member who acts in a professional and responsible way does not gossip about or criticize other members of the board to outsiders. If a board member feels that a colleague is acting inappropriately, she can address her opinion either directly to that board member or to the chairman. On most boards, the chairman is responsible for educating board members.

The two most important skills a new board member can develop are listening and asking questions. Doing both well is important in gaining the personal respect of fellow board members, which in turn is crucial to developing the power necessary to effect change. By listening, a new board member learns the history of an issue. She learns the kinds of assumptions and perspectives the board is using. It is annoying

to the experienced members if a new member presumes to brief them on obvious or elementary considerations. It is also patronizing and lacking in sensitivity. More can be gained by listening to the considerations each member raises.

It is said in business that it is impossible to know too much about the company. Similarly, a trustee should learn as much as possible about the institution, the board, and the community with which she is working. Reading the organization manuals, the board policy handbook, past minutes of board meetings, the background material in the board packet, and all promotional materials issued by the college is helpful. Asking meaningful questions is also useful. One of the most important services a new trustee can perform is asking appropriate questions. Often, a new trustee is not as inhibited as some of the more experienced trustees and therefore can raise pertinent issues without offending other board members. On the other hand, a new trustee should not get her education only at the board's public meeting times. Background questions can be asked before the meeting or at a special meeting with the chair. A good guideline is to avoid asking questions if you do not know what answer you are seeking. Board members refer to such questions as "chasing rabbits" or "going fishing" and resent the use of their meeting time for these kinds of expeditions. Such questions also increase the possibility of inadvertently and unnecessarily raising a painful issue that has been temporarily, if less than satisfactorily, resolved. Unless the new member is prepared to offer a fresh alternative, it is rarely helpful to raise the issue again.

One should always respect the strengths and weaknesses of individual board members recognizing that other women members of the board are individuals just as the men are. All men do not think or act alike; neither do women. It is not necessary for women trustees to agree on the wisdom of a certain course of action. Conversely, a woman trustee does not need to feel responsible for or embarrassed by another woman member whose views or mode of behavior differ from her own.

Women who are comfortable with themselves as persons are in a position to relate to others on the level of ideas and issues. The poor reputation ascribed to women as a group as they attempt to function in a business, political, or professional settings frequently stems from those women who cannot relate to others outside the cultural stereotypes assigned to their sex. The woman who is more comfortable relating to men than to other women should examine her own actions and reactions critically for vestiges of the sexual byplay that is so much a part of our culture; if her actions elicit in other women the feeling of

threat to home and family or a fear of the loss of a mate, it will be a real barrier to establishing the trust necessary for an interpersonal or a business relationship.

Trust is a critical element in establishing working relationships in any group, including a board of trustees. Know your friends. Do not reject a possible association on the basis of sex alone. If you cannot make friends with other women—or with other men—you may be practicing your own version of chauvinism while you loudly proclaim the virtues of your stand for equality. Just as women may not share the same views on issues and behavior, so men may differ widely in their ideas and opinions. Many men are sensitive to the issues of human rights and justice; they are not automatically male chauvinists because of their sex. If you cannot tell your friends from your enemies, you certainly will not be able to count the votes when they need to be counted.

Counting the votes is important, as are an accurate sense of timing and learning to pick your battles. A new board member must develop a sense of perspective on issues. When are changes really needed? When are you merely second-guessing the minor decisions someone else was forced to make? If you have repeatedly made the same point and no one is listening, perhaps it is best to let it ride for the moment, changing tactics or waiting for a more appropriate time. If you get a frustrating feeling that no one is listening, you may be right. It is also a fair indication that you are not working with the board or responding to its signals. Perhaps it is time for listening on your part.

The Trustees' Most Important Task

One of the most important duties of any board of trustees is that of selecting the president of the college. The choice of the president and the quality of the relationships between the board and the president and between the president and the college crucially affect the board's ability to discharge its duties.

The choice of the president is important because he or she is the action instrument of the board. The president mobilizes the resources of the college to move toward its goals and establishes the quality of its day-to-day operations. The president is viewed as the educational leader of the college. He or she may be the spokesperson for the board and will be seen by members of the community as the single most important figure representing the school.

John W. Nason (1979), who has written extensively on the presidential search, states that before the board can choose a president the

members must decide what kind of president they want. "Should we look for scholars to lead the faculty, managers to coordinate complex operations, fund raisers *par excellence,* negotiators to arbitrate and compromise conflicting forces and constituencies, educational statement with vision and charisma? There is no longer a single model of the model college president" (p. 18). Deciding what the board wants is the really difficult part of the selection process. The complex changes within society and within its institutions and the resulting pressures and conflicts deeply affect academic life. The demand for accountability in many human services, including education; the demand for shared governance; the increasing complexity of knowledge with the accompanying proliferation of academic programs; the increased specialization of students—all of these put increased pressures on today's institutions.

The community college is particularly vulnerable because of a never-ending demand for services and specialized programs at a time when enrollment is declining and becoming eroded through inflation and other processes. Many of our community colleges are young and were created during a euphoric wave of rapid growth in enrollments. Philosophically and emotionally, community colleges are committed to being truly comprehensive and to extending as many of the benefits of education to as many persons as they can reach.

Once the new president is chosen, he or she must be given clear directions regarding the present mission and goals of the school. The board is responsible for providing as many resources as possible and for supporting the president in establishing his or her leadership style and in choosing a management team. The formal legitimacy of the president's power comes from the board, but the president must also establish an informal legitimacy with the staff and constituents of the college. The board can facilitate this process before the president is even chosen by encouraging appropriate participation of the faculty, students, and staff in the selection process. After the board members have made their selection, they must be prepared to support the president. Any change in leadership creates some anxiety; inevitably existing perceptions of duties and roles must be realigned in terms of new expectations.

As critical as the choice of president is, the development of a good working relationship—a partnership between the board and the president—is crucial to the long-term welfare of the institution. The roles of the president and the board must be clarified and refined. The deceptively simple distinction between policy and administration—with the board responsible for policy and the president for administra-

tion—is difficult to translate into practice. For example, in one survey (Cleary, 1979) of the opinions of trustees and presidents regarding trustee-president authority relations and the responsibilities of each, there was little consensus regarding what constituted policy and what was administration and what actions fell into each category. Yet, it is crucial that each board and its president resolve the questions of what is policy and what is administration. The president must know what authority he or she has and what kind of support can be expected from the board in exercising that authority. The board must establish a satisfactory balance between the two extremes of involvement: The trustees must become involved enough to discharge their responsibilities for the long-term welfare of the institution and yet not so involved that they undermine the authority of the president. The establishment of this working relationship requires constant effort and a continual adjustment. Richard C. Richardson, Jr. (1978) describes this as a process of mutual education, with the board and the president responsible for teaching each other. He states: "Neither the president nor the board will be right all of the time, but once a decision has been reached, it deserves full commitment and a fair trial. Few decisions are irreversible; therefore, presidents and boards need to avoid assumptions of infallibility and to be prepared to reexamine past decisions whenever new information comes to light" (p. 32).

Although the single most important responsibility of the board may be to select a president, its responsibility does not end there. Both the board and the president have a commitment to establish a learning environment that extends throughout the college and permeates the board room itself. The board teaches by example, as well as by the establishment of policy. The example of board members acting as persons concerned with both the long-term welfare of the institution and the community and the genuine education of all its students will speak loudly and clearly.

Summary

Women can and should seek positions on boards of trustees. They should do so willingly and with a clear perception of the responsibilities they will assume. Women have the abilities and dedication necessary for the task. But this is not a position for those who seek a platform for a single issue. The responsibilities of the position are too comprehensive; the consequences of failure to meet these responsibilities are too great to be risked for the furtherance of a single cause, no

matter how important it may seem. On the other hand, the woman who would be a board member, willing to participate in the board's discharge of all its diverse obligations, is in a position to be "an agent of change in what is historically a conservative institution, deciding what changes should be permitted and what changes should be encouraged and when" (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973, p. 32). What greater reward could there be? Ironically, the reward is achieved only when a person approaches the task free from preconceived notions of what change is needed, free of conflict of interest, willing to adapt to changing circumstances, and open to new ideas.

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Whether in the public sector or private corporation, a balanced analysis of self and system is essential for women in management.

Women as Managers

Linda L. Moore

Thousands of women are seeking answers to questions about survival and success in the male-dominated world of work. Business and professional women find in trendy magazines and books a profusion of suggestions on the right pathway to power, the key to success, and the female characteristics to avoid or cultivate. Many women are confused by the conflicting points of view of the "experts." Yet, there are ways to establish a solid foundation of understanding and competence on which to build a rewarding career in management.

Socialization or the System?

Basically, two theoretical positions regarding women are discussed in the management literature. The most popular and perhaps best-known perspective is that of socialization of women in our culture. Women have been taught and reinforced in behaviors quite different from those of men. The primary goal for women traditionally has been becoming a wife and mother; for men it has been work. The socialized behaviors, skills, and attitudes of wife and mother have been carried into the world of work; women are ill-prepared for many of the demands and expectations they confront in that male-dominated environment.

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Margaret Hennig and Ann Jardim give considerable support to this point of view in their book *The Managerial Woman* (1977). Their study of twenty-five high-level women executives examines relationships with parents, early decisions about work and personal life, the role of a mentor, and the sacrifices of "femaleness" in order to succeed.

Management literature discussing the socialization of women has helped women better understand themselves and their history. It has given them psychological freedom and the permission to move forward in new avenues of growth. But it has also reinforced a tendency to look inward—to see women themselves as the source of problems. Blaming their socialization allows women to neglect the impact of the environment on the problems they encounter. Further, women have been slow to talk and to write about the positive aspects of female socialization. Often the interpretation is that we must leave behind who we are as women in order to succeed at work—that we must adopt male ways of thinking and of viewing the world and make hard choices between a career and a family. This occurs because the outcome of women's socialization—an emphasis on relationships—is devalued in the world of work.

The second major theoretical position in the management literature views the nature of the system as the source of difficulty. Daring to question the system has been a gradual process for women. Feminist literature has led the way, and Rosabeth Moss Kanter in *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977) moved the challenge into management literature. Kanter suggests that women have difficulty in organizations because of their minority status, not because they are women. In her book, Kanter gives her readers not only insight but also permission to look at the work setting with an analytic eye and to feel less insane about what happens to them on a day-to-day basis at the office.

These two theoretical positions can be viewed as a continuum from self to system. Identifying and understanding the central issues for women in management demands a balanced analysis of self and system influences. Moving too far to either end of the continuum risks the loss of significant thinking; however, in view of our history of strident self-analysis, it may be temporarily necessary to emphasize a look at our institutions.

Problems for Women in Management

Having women in management creates new relationships for both men and women. As managers, women ask a great deal of them-

selves, of other women, and of men. On one level, women are asking for freedom, flexibility, and a chance for choice points in life rather than a traditional tunnel of development and movement through life; on another level, they are asking for role shifts, role changes, and a redistribution of the responsibilities and maintenance tasks of daily life. On a still deeper level, women are requesting a change in their psychological frame of reference, particularly in the area of leadership roles. In this context, what are the typical problems women face on a day-to-day basis?

First, women are highly visible. High visibility may create an aura of specialness for some, but it primarily makes women vulnerable to emotional and physical distress. When we are more noticeable, everything takes on an importanct that is out of perspective—what we wear and say, where and with whom we sit, promotions we do or do not receive, and relationships we do or do not cultivate. Women in a numerical minority are open to difficulties ranging from criticism of their decisions to sexual harassment. Kanter (1977) suggests that these problems will not be solved until there are more women in the work force at all levels.

Because women are few in number, they end up having very little experience with one another as peers. How do women feel about other women as they move into managerial roles? Unaccustomed to having other women as resources, they often do not know how to use their colleagues and perhaps feel afraid to do so. Women need one another for validation, support, and information; women in management must increase in number if their female perspective is to have more than a minor impact on system as they now stand.

The problem of women's not being able to work with one another is overstated and diminishing, but men believe that women do not work well together, and such beliefs affect their behaviors and their decisions negatively. Although individualism and competition are part of the fabric of male-dominated organizations, there is also the need to demonstrate that one can be a "team player" and participate in the give and take.

Skill deficiencies in business operations are often a real problem and usually result from aborted career-development patterns, late decisions to move into management, and a socialization process directed away from a study of profit and loss statements. The traditional female role in society compares to human-services staff positions in organizations (personnel, industrial medicine, and so forth). The comparison reveals that women are accustomed to "doing for" rather than manag-

ing. Further, women are more familiar with one-to-one relationships than with groups, and they often lack the collaboration skills that men develop in childhood (for example, in the formation of their first sandlot baseball team). Women's networking skills—exchanging information, ideas, help, and support within and across organizations—are often weak, and their ability to use one another is diminished because it sound like a nasty thing to do. Large gaps also show up in assertive persuasion, decision making, problem solving, negotiation, and conflict resolution. The important thing is that these skills are acquired through learning. Identifying what we do know and what we need to know is one obvious key to acquiring such skills; another is recognizing what women do know and learning to name it, nurture it, and see it as a contribution to the way work is done.

Women managers with families—and particularly those with small children—face almost overwhelming problems in priority setting, value conflicts, and time management. Too often, women work fifty to sixty hours a week outside the home in addition to maintaining primary responsibility for childcare and housework. Criticized by the nonworking mother, the nonunderstanding husband, and the nonflexible institution, a female with these multiple responsibilities often faces her problems alone. There is generally little or no institutional recognition (from family, business, government, education) of the pioneering roles played by women today.

Finally, the reality that women see things differently from their male colleagues must be recognized. Such differences create conflict, particularly if neither understands the existence of the opposite point of view. Too often, men emphasize tasks and neglect people and feelings: frequently, women reverse the emphasis. The inherent problem in this difference is that men's way of doing things is traditionally valued by institutions. As a result, women are told that their perception is wrong, their ideas will not work, and they simply do not understand how things are done. Thus, learning is lost on both sides, and women are reinforced in their victim role—their belief that they are the problem, that they just do not know enought or have not worked hard enough, and that if they could think more like men, things would be better. The barriers are maintained rather than bridged.

Use and Misuse of Power

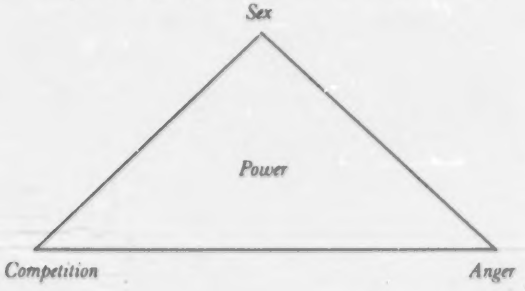
A common theme running through these indicated problems is the use and misuse of power among women. Growing up female almost

guarantees a misuse of power. Early in life (probably by the age of four), women are taught three negative uses of power: Viewing power as a means to get what they want from those who have it, little girls learn to manipulate men by mothering them, by seducing them, and by acting childlike and helpless. Although these nurturing, sexual, and free-child states are valued aspects of a fully developed personality, they are negative when used as a means to some other end. Most women recognize these behaviors in themselves, as well as in girl children. As adults, women fall back on these techniques in times of crisis—when they do not know what else to do because they have not learned positive uses of power. Mothering, seduction, and helplessness are survival tools for securing a safe place in relationships with the dominant male group. Carried into the office, these same tools or techniques are destructive to relationships both with other women and with men. Women who know the behavior well mistrust each other when power is the name of the game. And men who have been manipulated by women fear being manipulated again. Finally, when old techniques do not work, women feel helpless and are once again forced into a victim role.

Deeply held attitudes, beliefs, and feelings contribute to the ability or inability to exercise power positively. Consider the "mysterious internal triangle" of power: sex, competition, and anger (see Figure 1).

Sex, at an age as early as twelve, is viewed as something women have that men want. Thus it can become a subtle tool for power. Historically, it has been the basis for a bargain struck between female and male—the male provides security and the women provides sexual access. In fact, sex may have been viewed by many foremothers as the only source of power available to them. Modern woman may see sex in the same way, although one would hope that there is now more equality in the relationships. Regardless of the prevalent attitude, sex is still used

Figure 1. Internal Power Triangle



as a bargaining tool; the number of sexual harassment cases in the courts demonstrates the problem of sex associated with power.

The second point on the triangle is competition. Women's experiences with competition and its attendant feelings are confusing, and the history of women in competition has a negative impact on our attitudes and behaviors regarding power. As children, we experience competition with one another for attention: We may have to compete with Mother for Father's attention; girls compete with each other for the attention of boys; and girls compete with each other for the limited recognition available to girls. As adults, women pretend that they do not compete with one another. This, too, is learned in childhood, because the competition felt and engaged in as children is viewed as not being nice for little girls. Consequently, women learn to smile and say nice things while conspiring behind the scenes to accomplish goals. As adults, women keep competition "under the table" just in case some disapproving eye catches them engaging in it again.

Competition with men is vaguely legitimate until adolescence strikes. Then the messages begin—girls should not be smarter than boys; girls should not win when they play with boys. The reason for these restrictions is often a mystery, but the threat of potential rejection and other disaster is strong. The well-socialized female carries these old messages into work and relationships and sometimes gets hooked into diffusing her power in order to keep from appearing aggressive and competitive.

Competition exists among girls and women because society limits the total amount of attention, recognition, rewards, and opportunities available to females. Historically, boys and men come first. Negative attitudes toward competition exist because girls were not allowed to compete in an open and constructive manner. This is particularly true for girls and women who have no background in competitive sports. The potential among women to share power—to collaborate effectively—and to learn the positive uses of power in organizations is delayed and fatigued by the denial of our competitive feelings and behaviors with one another.

Anger, the third point on the triangle, is perhaps the most confusing of feelings. Women often fail to recognize their anger and fear to express it—but it is the feeling they most need to express. Anger puts the greatest possible distance between women and the relationships they place great value on; thus, at the time women feel the most anger, they may also feel the most pain, fear, and insecurity. Being angry feels dangerous; it connotes possible rejection and loss. Often intertwined

with other emotional sensations, anger is complex, confusing, and ultimately seldom dealt with.

As children, unless we were in unusual families, we received little permission to express anger or aggression. Studies of early childhood parenting patterns indicate that little girls are punished for aggressive behavior while boys are rewarded. Aggressive, angry feelings do not evaporate if they remain unexpressed, as we would sometimes like to believe, so girls must find some other outlet. Usually, girls become verbally aggressive toward one another—they become "tattletales." And, just as with competition, early experiences with anger are hurtful ones. Girls are often cruel in their rejections of one another. When boys argue, they scuffle or fight it out; when girls argue, they say bad things about one another to a mutual friend, hoping to damage intimacy. Pure, straightforward anger is rarely expressed.

Anger toward boys also changes in adolescence. Although a girl may have been able to express anger in her early years, a shift occurs when boys become identified as sources of affirmation, identity anchors, and essential to relationships. As girls and women become more and more dependent on boys and men, the ability to be angry with them or even to recognize anger diminishes. It is self-defeating to be angry with those on whom you are dependent.

Acknowledging anger is an important step in one's development of a sense of integrity. In the world of work and power, recognizing and understanding anger is essential. For some, built-up anger must be dealt with in therapy; but, for most of us, the recognition that being very angry does not mean one is crazy is the most important thing. Building skills for dealing with angry, aggressive feelings becomes essential to avoiding another buildup.

The relationships of sex, competition, and anger to power are complex and intertwined. Our sex predetermines early learnings and attitudes about power, and sexuality becomes part of a barter system in the balance of power. The absence of permission to express feelings of competition and anger handicaps relationships with other women and men. Survival tools emerge—techniques for getting what is wanted and needed regardless of the manipulation involved—as well as outlets for normal human emotions, regardless of the hurt encountered. In spite of these negative learnings, women are able to relate to self and others in ways that build unique levels of intimacy, understanding, support, and trust. When women are clear about a sometimes negative history with one another, they are often able to share themselves, their skills, their resources, and their power in ways that male socialization

does not allow. These are the abilities that old and mysterious teachings about power, sex, competition, and anger cloud.

Stress—The Physical and Emotional Effects

Coping with the self/system continuum of problems thus far identified often results in considerable stress for women. Typically, we hear such terms as *burnout* and such phrases as "The system takes too much energy." Less typically do we hear the secret thoughts: "I'm crazy," "I can't measure up because I don't know what's really going on," "I'll never make it," "If people knew what anger and pain I really feel, I would never be respected professionally."

Job stress has increased for all individuals. Women must handle the stresses that come from efforts to manage relationships and family as well. What happens to us as a result of recognized stressors? What effect to they have on us physically and emotionally? Most women recognize their stress as such physical symptoms as extreme fatigue, lightheadedness or dizziness, muscle spasms or knots in the neck, shoulders, or stomach, or tightness in the chest and difficult breathing. One may also become aware of such emotional manifestations as irritability, a fragile sensation, crying easily, anxiety or agitation that seems relentless, or an ongoing state or worry and depression. Behavioral signs include inability to get started on a task, difficulty making decisions, thinking dozens of thoughts at the same time, missing work, and avoiding contact with others. Unfortunately, symptoms such as these may mount, multiply, and move along a continuum of seriousness that becomes physically or emotionally incapacitating.

In general, women have far less permission to deal with feelings than we have been led to believe. In the office, the female employee—and particularly the female manager—has no room for emotional responses if she hopes to maintain any credibility. Women's socialization teaches them to be understanding of and receptive to the feelings and needs of others and to put those feelings and needs first. Coming second on life (and sometimes third and fourth) creates hundreds of incidents where women are forced to swallow their feelings, beliefs, and needs in order to understand or help someone else feel better.

When women become managers and learn what people believe about the emotionality of women, an additional pressure to exert control is born. Women experience emotional rushes of anxiety or tension in conflict situations—feelings that something of intensity is rising in their bodies and threatens to come out. The results may be: (1) an

angry, emotional outburst that is far out of proportion to the event—which reinforces the image of the irrational female who cannot keep her feelings under control at work; (2) tears—an outburst of crying easily almost anytime, especially when someone says something caring; (3) ongoing irritability; (4) physical symptoms of some severity—ulcers, gastritis, colitis, and so forth; (5) frequent physical illness—colds or flu that necessitate bed rest and medication. These five kinds of responses allow the average women a temporary outlet for negative feelings; this in turn allows a return to routine behavior until these feelings build up once again. A vicious cycle results in that there appears to be no legitimate outlet for negative feelings and no means of intervention in a system that encourages women to see themselves as victims.

Private Sector versus Public Sector

The major differences in conditions for women in the public sector and private sectors are structural and economic. For example, entry-level opportunities in the government and in federally and state-supported educational institutions may be more numerous due to heavily enforced regulations on discrimination. Further, these human service institutions have available more job opportunities that are traditionally female—secretarial, teaching, and social service. The same regulatory structures can operate, however, to slow down the process of promotion and upward mobility through wage ceilings, number limitations on grade levels and ranks, and the miles of red tape involved in large bureaucratic institutions. Advancements in colleges and university positions are slow now because education is a no-growth industry. And the old maxim that women are last hired and first fired holds true. In short, hiring is fast and upward mobility is slow in public-sector institutions.

The reverse is assumed for private sector organizations. Entry is more difficult, particularly if jobs are traditionally male-dominated. However, movement can be rapid for the woman who is well prepared with the proper combination of skills, energy, time, and network contacts, because decisions to promote her for the benefit of the organization do not depend on civil-service systems.

The social and psychological differences between the public and private sectors cannot be generalized. In spite of the stereotype that the private sector is "better" in its attitude and its openness toward women, there are no data to support such a position. Organizations differ throughout both sectors in climate and structure and in the resulting

problems or absence of problems for women in leadership roles. One distinction within each sector that does affect women is whether an institution is a closed or an open system. An open system involves mutual interaction with the environment; ongoing institutional learning; an investment in planning; a sense of obligation for knowing, understanding, and meeting the needs of the client; and an openness to new issues (such as the integration of women, with their unique needs and ideas, into the environment. A closed system operates in isolation from the realities of the world around it and is less likely to provide opportunities for understanding and growth.

Coping in a Managerial Role

As the movement of women into leadership and managerial roles continues and problems are encountered in both the private and public sectors, ways to exchange information and ideas for personal support and institutional change need to be identified. The way to begin is through networking: making contacts across private and public sector lines, calling women for lunch or drinks, arranging small discussion groups, asking questions, exchanging ideas, exploring similarities and differences. The climate is ripe for initiating such activities because networking is happening all over the country. Women are gradually coming to expect requests from other women for information, support, and help.

Networking. Networks created by women provide a temporary substitute for institutional recognition of changing women's roles. When their institutions cannot or will not support the dramatic shifts in the goals and life-styles of growing numbers of women, they must find alternative systems of support. Networks hold the promise of such an alternative. Mary Scott Welch (1980) sees networking as an integral and necessary part of one's professional day. The specific suggestions, techniques, and strategies outlined in Welch's book *Networking* are a must for the woman new to the concept; these include thirty-one things to do and not to do while networking, basic steps for starting an in-house or community-wide network, and names of existing networks in every state.

Analysis of Self and System. Beyond the strategy of networking, women must reexamine their uniqueness as women. If women can exchange self-negation for celebration, they can create ways of relating that will make systems healthier for women. This will happen only as women stop denying who they are as a result of their gender. To begin this process, each of us must take a personal inventory:

Further resources are listed in this concluding chapter.

1. *Self.* Take a long hard look at who you are today—personally and professionally. Consider values, strengths, and weaknesses, goals and priorities, changes.

2. *Attitudes and Beliefs.* Reflect upon the world of work and what it takes to make it. Are "female characteristics" the major source of problems for women? Are unique contributions possible or likely?

3. *Behavior.* Is your behavior congruent with your values, goals, priorities, attitudes, and beliefs? Do you seek contacts and work opportunities with or for other women?

4. *Feedback.* Consider the perception of others. Is feedback positive, negative, inconsistent, or perhaps altogether absent? Are there people you trust to tell you how you are regarded both professionally and personally? Are you willing to ask for such data, listen to it, evaluate it, and use it?

5. *Situation.* Carefully observe problematic situations. Who are the people involved? Analyze the nature of the work to be done. When does the conflict of difficulty emerge? What resources do you have for confronting the problems?

6. *Environment.* Analyze your immediate work environment. How would you describe the climate? Is it a really crazy place to be? Again, who are the people involved? What is the nature of the work? How does the work get done?

7. *System.* How well do you understand the entire system? Where are the sources of formal and informal power? What is the value system of the organization? What is the true attitude toward women? What are the numbers of women at the top, on the bottom, on significant committees and task forces?

Summary

The problems for women in management are large, and the resulting stress on individuals, families, and organizations is significant. At times, many women feel like giving up—but new insights into the problems encountered by women in management keep the majority motivated. The key is a balanced analysis of the self and the system. Such as balance assures learning in multiple directions.

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Sources and Information: Women in the Community College

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This concluding chapter highlights references from the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) relevant to community college women. Perhaps the most comprehensive source available on the subject is the annotated bibliography *WEECN Resource Roundup: Women in Community and Junior Colleges* (Eliason and Edmonson, 1980). The bibliography cites general works about the enrollment characteristics and the needs of female students, articles for and about women in administration, and materials regarding the counseling and guidance needs of female students and programs serving those needs. The bibliography also provides information on programs, agencies, and associations of interest to those concerned about the position of women in the community college.

The proceedings of a working conference held in Hagerstown, Maryland, on October 2, 1977 include addresses and workshop presentations about the options for women within the community college setting (*A Woman's Place Is Everywhere,* 1977). The workshops covered

such topics as nontraditional roles for women, support systems for career planning and entry, and evaluation of programs for adult women.

The North Carolina State Department of Community Colleges' assessment of the status of women found that although women represented 49 percent of the total institutional work force in North Carolina community colleges, they held only 14.8 percent of the executive and managerial jobs (*Upgrading Minorities: Patterns and Trends 1970 to 1978,* 1978). Of new hirings at the executive level, 20 percent were women. The distribution of males and females by program remained much the same between 1970 and 1978, with males enrolling in agricultural, engineering, and trade programs and females entering health care, home economics, and office education programs.

A collection of papers on educational equity issues includes articles on recruiting and retaining women in nontraditional vocational programs, female enrollment in Oregon community colleges, and salaries for male and female higher education personnel (Gross, 1978).

A handbook for sex equity coordinators prepared for the Los Angeles Community College District (Rubenstein and Sillman, 1981) describes and outlines state and federal laws; provides a glossary of terms related to gender equity; explains the coordinator's role, including his or her responsibilities and the activities engaged in by coordinators; gives examples of completed state and federal sex equity forms; and makes suggestions for preparing publicity materials free of sex bias. Sample in-service training materials, including a three-hour training program for vocational faculty, an evaluation instrument for measuring sex bias and discrimination in curriculum and other materials, descriptions of student services activities that coordinators could perform, and thoughts about the importance of good interpersonal communication are also covered in sections of the handbook. In addition to state and district sex equity project descriptions and district film listings, an extensive bibliography and list of national associations for the attainment of sex equity goals are included.

Elovson (1980) examines the development of women's studies programs in community colleges, reviews the literature on women's programs, discusses the potential role of women's studies in improving the position of older, returning female students, and examines the present status of women's studies programs as determined by a survey of fifteen community colleges and interviews with eight women's studies program coordinators. Recommendations for improvement and a bibliography are provided.

Occupational Education

Community colleges are particularly well placed for ensuring sex equity in vocational/technical training. Maymi (1976), in a presentation at the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges' convention, called for community colleges to seek innovative approaches to training women to meet the challenge of the increasing demand for skilled workers. Much of this effort focuses on overcoming the sex stereotyping that causes women to be poorly motivated and limited in their career aspirations.

An Illinois study found that respondents classified many occupations by sex, that the majority of respondents had acquaintances in their chosen career fields, and that males preferred vocational courses more than did females. Alden and Seiferth (1979) discuss the study findings with particular regard to their implications for community colleges. A study conducted among female students in vocational/occupational programs in ten two-year colleges found that the majority of the respondents were enrolled in programs considered traditional for women and appeared to have had little exposure to vocational aptitude testing or counseling in either high school or college (Eliason, 1977). Eliason's report on the study includes a listing of exemplary programs for training women for occupations that are not traditional for their sex.

A survey of 1,007 women and 784 men at four two-year colleges in New York City was conducted to identify the factors that influence women's career decisions and to determine the characteristics of women in various career programs (Moore, 1977). The study report examines the lack of research related to women at two-year colleges and analyzes the survey findings with special emphasis on women students who choose nontraditional careers.

Individual community colleges are making efforts to identify and eliminate sources of sex bias and stereotyping in their programs. The College of DuPage (Bakshis and Godshalk, 1978) surveyed a random sample of students, women enrolled in occupational programs with low female enrollments, and occupational coordinators to evaluate potential sources of sex bias and stereotyping. Gateway Technical Institute examined and compared the responses of males and females to student follow-up questionnaires to determine whether sex-role stereotyping was a legitimate concern (DeVuyst and others, 1978).

The OPTIONS project at Piedmont Virginia Community College (Tulloch, 1979) represents a comprehensive effort to eliminate sex

bias in vocational guidance. Workshops intended to sensitive counselors to sex stereotyping, examinations to uncover bias in career resource materials, development of a procedure for assessing new materials as they are added to the library, efforts to eliminate math anxiety, and seminars for students on sex stereotyping and bias were undertaken.

The New Vocational Internship Education for Women (New VIEW) at Foothill-DeAnza Community College District was designed to help mature women entering the labor force prepare for and build responsible careers (Davidson and Schoenhair, 1976). Participants participate in one-year paid internships in technical fields, take academic courses related to their career goals, and take part in individual and group counseling, testing, and evaluation activities.

Highline Community College conducted a project designed to recruit, instruct, advise, counsel, and place women considering scientific and technological careers (DeWitt and Colasurdo, 1979).

Trident Technical College began a project in 1977 to interest women in engineering technology and to make them aware of the career opportunities in the field (Caughman, 1979). Female Access to Careers in Engineering Technology (FACET) and the second phase of the project, Female Access to Careers in Industrial Technology (FACIT), have been quite successful in attracting women to these careers and helping them complete their program.

A two-year project at the Community College of Allegheny County was funded to develop a model program for eliminating the math anxiety and increasing the basic mathematical skills of female students (Baylis, 1979). A particular intent of the program was to combat the sex-role stereotypes that have traditionally led to avoidance of mathematical and scientific careers by women.

Heller and others (1978) describe a series of after-school career path workshops for female eleventh graders designed as a cooperative effort of community college and high school. The objective of the workshops is to increase the number of women entering technical and professional careers considered nontraditional for their sex.

Resources for community colleges seeking to widen career opportunities for women are available. Miller (1980a) presents an in-service module designed to assist vocational instructors in recruiting and retaining students in courses that are nontraditional for their sex. An annotated bibliography listing resources dealing with sex equity in vocational education (Miller, 1980b) covers materials about sex-role definition, sex equity and the law, sex equity and career guidance, career options for women, and organizations and projects dealing with sex

equity. Equity counseling for women in community colleges is discussed in Eliason (1979a). The monograph covers the role of the counselor in eliminating the effects of sex-role stereotyping on occupational choice; the institutional commitment to providing equity counseling in terms of programs and services; the special needs of minorities, older women, displaced homemakers, and welfare recipients; various techniques for implementing sex equity; and exemplary programs and services provided at community colleges.

Female Administrators and Faculty Members

The underrepresentation of women in community college administration has led to examinations of female administrators and the barriers they face. A survey of women in the administration of California community colleges (Wiedman, 1979) focused on biographical information, attitudes toward career development and issues related to being female administrators, advice to aspiring female administrators, and information about the differences between males and females in administration. A profile of female college presidents (McGee, 1979) was developed by examining the demographic and professional characteristics, career patterns, and role definitions of thirty-five women who headed fifteen two-year institutions and twenty four-year institutions. Loomis and Wild (1978) suggest that invisible barriers, such as word-of-mouth recruitment techniques and stereotypical myths, make administrative positions difficult for women to obtain, and they recommend the support of legislation eliminating sex barriers, the active recruitment of women for administrative positions, and the encouragement of women to attain advanced degrees and aggressively pursue administration as a career.

Community colleges are studying the characteristics of their faculties to determine the fairness of hiring and other personnel practices. Montgomery College gathered data to determine the ratio of males to females by status and department and related the information to hiring practices, fringe benefits, and teaching loads (Diepenbrock and others, 1976). Of the full-time, tenured faculty, 34 percent were women; 42 percent of full-time, nontenured faculty and 37 percent of part-time faculty were women. Faculty change figures showed that male full-time faculty had a 7 percent greater chance of being hired for consecutive semesters than did females. The results of a survey of department chairpersons conducted by the Montgomery County Commission on Women to obtain information about personnel practices are also included.

An investigation of trends in the numbers and characteristics of faculty over the fifty years of Los Angeles City College's operation found that 37 percent of the 1979 faculty were women (Gold, 1979). During the five-year period ending in 1979, 48 percent of the new instructors hired were female—the highest percentage of any five-year period in the college's history.

Female Trustees

The literature dealing specifically with women serving as community college trustees is very limited. A comparative survey of the perceptions of community college presidents and board chairpersons regarding the relations of presidents with their boards of trustees (King and Breuder, 1977) indicated that the average board numbered 10.7 members, of whom one to three (7 to 8 percent) were women.

Smith (1976) addresses the reasons for a woman to become a trustee, and ways for a woman to function effectively as a member of a board of trustees.

Female Students: Needs and Services

The increasing number of women enrolled in community colleges has led to investigations of the special needs of these students. The Commission on Women of the California Community and Junior College Association held two hearings in March 1979 to determine the needs of present and potential female students in the California community colleges (Mitchell, 1979). Childcare, financial aid, career counseling, resource information and referral, transitional programs, and job placement were among the services called for by those presenting testimony.

Adult women residents of the Chaffey Community College District were interviewed to ascertain their demographic characteristics, their educational needs and interests, the barriers to educational participation thay they perceived, and the adequacy of the current programs of the district for meeting their needs (Lyman-Viera and Boggs, 1976). Over 40 percent of the women interviewd planned to take classes in the future. Family responsibilities, childcare, transportation, personal feelings, employment, and finances were named by the women as factors restricting their participation in education.

Using the responses of women to a districtwide community needs assessment and information obtained from interviews with female

students, Santa Ana College conducted a project to increase women's awareness of the college's programs and services (Slark, 1980). A second aim of the project was to learn about the women's degree of familiarity with the college, their satisfaction with the college and its services, their educational needs and desires, and the problems they encountered with class withdrawal.

Stewart (1979) discusses the aims and goals of women's programs in community colleges and examines the problems associated with ensuring their effectiveness and accountability. Lane Community College's women's program is used to illustrate the discussion.

A booklet designed to help women who are planning their lives and careers was prepared for the University of Maine at Orono (Stenech and Fritsche, 1975). The booklet discusses life planning and the demands the labor market of the future will make on employees. The rest of the booklet is divided into academic areas, including the two-year, employment-oriented programs of Bangor Community College.

Female Students: Special Groups

The particular needs of special groups of female students are being addressed by community college programs. Women reentering higher education are the focus of a number of these programs. A national field study of women's reentry programs was undertaken to identify the factors that lead to the success of such programs (Mezirow and Marsick, 1978). The study report covers the personal development process of women participating in college reentry programs, program dynamics and types of programs, and program evaluation.

A survey of women enrolled in women's reentry program classes at five community colleges in the southern San Francisco Bay area revealed significant differences in reasons for returning and in income between returning women who were married and those who were heads of households (Magill and Cirksena, 1978). The study report includes the survey instrument and a bibliography.

McClain (1977) suggests in a detailed examination of mature women returning to postsecondary education that high quality, low cost, and program variety are factors that make the community college a desirable setting for these women. A five-phase program that involves following the student through two years of college and providing counseling in career development is proposed to provide access for adult women to higher education through the community college.

As a systems approach to transferring the skills of female and

mid-life career changers to the world of work, Project ACCESS will identify and assess the skills women have acquired through homemaking, parenting, volunteer work, and other life experiences and determine the relevance of these skills for ten occupations and ten vocational educational programs (Eliason, 1979b). A goal of the program is recognizing women's experiential learning and assisting women entering new career fields.

Ryan (1979) describes (1) institutional problems of mature women returning to higher education, such as the unavailability of accurate program information, financial aid restrictions, lack of counseling and support services, rigid class scheduling, and failure to receive credit for earlier education and life experiences; and (2) personal problems of these women, such as fear of academic competition, insecurity about learning ability, guilt resulting from conflicting school and home demands, and lack of spousal support. These problems can be ameliorated through formal orientation programs, peer support organizations, financial aid for part-time students, flexible and nontraditional class formats, and personal and career counseling services geared to the needs of mature female reentry students.

Individual community colleges are studying the needs of female reentrants and designing programs to meet their needs. Fresno City College surveyed women returning to school after an interruption and determined their characteristics and their special needs (Richards, 1976). Recommendations made to meet the needs of the college's returning female students were expanding financial aid opportunities, offering personal counseling, developing reentry programs, and making an institutional commitment to women.

A questionnaire to elicit demographic information; reasons for previously interrupting education; reasons for returning to education; problems encountered at school; difficulties with transportation and scheduling; the impact of returning to school on relationships with family and friends; and goals, expectations, and fears about returning to school was distributed to mature women students at Skyline College (Steele, 1974). The survey report includes recommendations for improvement of services to mature women, a bibliography, and the survey instrument.

Black Hawk College's policies and programs were examined to determine their effectiveness in responding to the needs of returning female students (Beausang, 1976). The report recommends that the position of Coordinator for Women's Programs be created, a more flexible system for class scheduling be investigated, courses be individualized, and extension courses be expanded.

The Women's Reentry to Education Program (WREP) at San Jose City College is designed for low-income urban women returning to school (Alexandra, 1976). WREP offers general education courses and support services for these women during their first year of return.

Bellevue Community College offers a nine-week vocational orientation course for displaced homemakers (*Vocational Orientation Course for Displaced Homemakers,* 1979). The course offers emotional support as well a vocational orientation. The teaching manual and final project report comprise the document.

The Confidence Clinic at Clackamas Community College was designed to help women on welfare achieve self-sufficiency by providing opportunities for self-evaluation and information on such subjects as job-search techniques, training opportunities, community resources, adult basic education, child development, personal problem solving, and wardrobe building (Weiss, 1978).

An illustrated handbook provides advice and suggestions for women who are considering a return to higher education (Ryan, 1978). Emotional and personal considerations are touched upon, as well as issues such as choosing a school, admissions procedures, and campus activities.

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The ERIC documents (ED numbers) listed, unless otherwise indicated, are available on microfiche (MF) or in paper copy (PC) from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS), Computer Microfilm International Corporation, P.O. Box 190, Arlington, Virginia 22210. The MF price for documents under 480 pages is $.91. Prices for PC are: 1–25 pages, $2.00; 26–50 pages, $3.65; 51–75 pages, $5.30; 76–100 pages, $6.95. For materials having more than 100 pages, add $1.65 for each 25-page increment (or fraction thereof). Postage must be added to all orders. Abstracts of these and other documents in the junior college collection are available upon request from the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, Room 96, Powell Library, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024. Braceted publication dates are approximate.

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